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Portrait of the Second Mrs. Warren Hastings.

Bishops Heber and Wilson.

A FEW PERSONAL REMINISCENCES.



THE subjoined notes are collected from the private correspondence of Captain F. Gresley of the 14th B. N. I., who retired from active service in 1844. How well esteemed this excellent officer was by his superiors the following extract from the General Orders of the Hyderabad Resident (Major-General James Stuart Fraser) on behalf of the Nizam's Government testifies :—

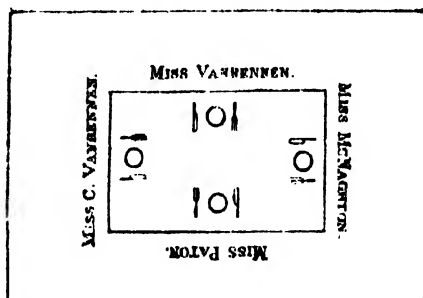
13th February 1844.—Captain F. Gresley of the 14th Regiment, Bengal Native Infantry, attached to the Nizam's Army, having been permitted by the Government of India to retire from the service of the East India Company from the 1st proximo, his name will be discontinued from the list of the Nizam's Army from that date. Captain Gresley has served the Nizam for seventeen years, in both a Military and Civil capacity, with a zeal and ability which have obtained the approbation of successive Residents ; an acknowledgment by the British Government on several occasions of the admirable manner in which he discharged the important duties entrusted to him. Major-General Fraser deeply regrets to be deprived of this officer's services and that valuable assistance which he deems it an act of justice to acknowledge he has ever received from Captain Gresley's talents and correct judgment.

Mr. Francis Gresley, having just obtained a cadetship from the Honourable Company, embarked for India, on Monday, the 16th June, 1823, on board the H.C.S. *Thomas Grenville*. The ship was anchored at the "Lower Hope," and immediately on arriving on board Mr. Gresley began the series of his home letters, from which the following notes are taken. The earlier letters are addressed to his father, Richard Gresley, Esq., of Kenilworth Hall, Warwickshire :—

"The Bishop [Reginald Heber, Lord Bishop of Calcutta] is expected on board about one o'clock. They are to salute him with 19 guns and man the yard-arms."

In the opening entry of his Journal, Bishop Heber records that he arrived accordingly by the Ramsgate steamboat, accompanied by a party of friends, and that the compliments mentioned by Mr. Gresley were duly paid to him, and that soon after his boarding her, the *Grenville* weighed anchor, but meeting with an adverse wind advanced only a very little way down the river. The company of passengers and ship's officers met first at the early dinner, for the meal hours on boardship were then, or at least on board that ship, the same as those which are sometimes so unreasonably complained of by travellers in the second saloon of the modern P. & O. steamers.

FOUR YOUNG LADIES IN THE COURT SERVICE.



MR. ELLIOTT, Surgeon.

MR. SWIFT, Arty. Cadet.					MR. HUTHORN, Writer.
MR. CONOELY, Oury. Cadet.		MUTTON			MR. HARE, Writer.
MR. McGEORGE, Infy. Cadet.		GOLD PORK			CAPT. PECKETT, Beng. Engrs.
Mrs. McNAGHTON, a young gentleman just come from "Rug- by" going out with his mamma.		APPLES		PECKETT'S WIFE	MRS. PECKETT, his wife.
MR. SHAW, going out Asst. Surgeon.		FLWLS			LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.
MAJ. BACKVILLE, Beng. Infy.		CHICKEN			MRS. HEBER, his wife.
MR. BURNETT, Chief Mate.		DUCKS			CAPT. MANNING, Commander.
MR. FISHER, 2nd Mate.		COLD MEAT			LADY McNAGHTON, going out to her husband.
MR. CUTBERTSON, Deputy Master Attendant at Penang.		EGGS			MR. CHESTER, Senior Merchant.
ONE OF THE MIDSHIPMEN.		GOOSE			MRS. McGREGOR, going out to her husband, Col. McGregor.
MR. GRANT, Writer.		PORK			COL. PENNINGTON, Bengal Arty.
MR. GRESLEY, Infy. Cadet.					MISS SHAKESPEARE, going out to her father or to be married.
MR. GROTE, Arty. Cadet.					MR. McINTOSH, Free Merchant.

MR. BENFOLD, Purser.

Mr. Gresley drew for his father a plan of the table (*see plate*) with the covers, all carefully noted, as they were placed on that first social occasion. It will be observed that the young gentleman had already exercised his curiosity as to the condition, rank, and even the private affairs of his fellow-passengers.

By the 18th the baffling breezes were succeeded by a favouring gale, and the Indian voyage was fairly begun. After tea the Bishop, with the ready approval of the Captain, commenced the evening prayers in the cuddy, which he kept up during the rest of the voyage. He used, he tells us himself, the General Confession, Lord's Prayer, Collect for all conditions of men, General Thanksgiving and other prayers. Mr. Gresley the next day made a note on his Lordship—

"The Bishop I find is an excellent good-natured kind of man, but as little like a Bishop in appearance as I am."

More than a year elapsed in the series of surviving letters before Mr. Gresley again alludes to the Bishop.

In the meanwhile, however, under date of the 24th July, 1824, Bishop Heber, writing near Furrcepdore, on his way by river from Dacca, has this allusion to Mr. Gresley :—

"I saw a small pinnacle creeping slowly towards us, amid the long reeds, which we hailed ; when it was ascertained who we were, a young officer jumped into the *dingy* and paddled up towards us, whom I soon recognized to be my old shipmate, Gresley, who, with his companion Lieutenant P—, dined with me. There were few medical applications which could have done me so much good as a motive for an extra glass of wine and the lively conversation of two young men, for one of whom I had a sincere regard."

To this meeting Mr. Gresley alludes thus :—

"*Camp near Budderpore, October 8th, 1824.*—That super-excellent man, the Bishop, I had the pleasure of meeting near Dacca, on his way up the country to visit all his churches, &c. He has undertaken a most Herculean task, that of visiting all the stations belonging to Bengal. He had just sustained a severe loss by the death of his chaplain, Mr. Stowe,* a very worthy man. Mrs. Heber was living at Barrackpore when I left. The Bishop must now be about Delhi. He is very much beloved in this country."

Bishop Heber died in Trichinopoly in 1826. The last letter in this correspondence, in which reference is found to him, is written ten years afterwards, and discusses the merits of the gentle prelate with those of his autocratic and vehement successor.

* The Rev. Martin Stowe died in the presence of the Bishop at Dacca on the 18th July 1824.

Mominabad, September 25, 1836.

"MY DEAR WILLIAM. I see you quote Bishops Heber and Wilson ; these are the only preachers of any note I have ever heard. I think I can give you some characteristic anecdotes of them. With the former I was very intimate, both on the voyage to India and afterwards in Calcutta. He approached nearer to my ideas of perfection than any man I ever met with. His unostentatious piety, his benevolent character, his bonhomie towards all classes, rendered him an universal favourite, while his extensive information on almost all interesting subjects, his fascinating conversation and his great talents as a preacher commanded the admiration of all who heard him. Of Bishop Wilson I saw a good deal at Calcutta and afterwards at Mr. R. Grant's in Bombay. It might be prejudice on my part but I must confess I did not like him ; he was not the pleasant, social companion that Heber was to everyone about him. He talked little, and even when he did talk, it was either in an overbearing dictatorial style or in a condescending one, both of which give offence to many. Some people, however, said that he was right, and that he ought not to allow everyone to be intimate with him, and so forth. For my part, he always gave me the idea of a superior Roman Catholic priest."

"The two Bishops have frequently been compared with each other both as preachers and as members of society ; but two people holding the same situations could hardly be more different in character. In England, I have no doubt that Wilson was in general the most effective preacher. In India the congregations are probably more silent than that you generally address at home. He has a fine voice, and when I at first heard him I was inclined to think that his high character was by no means overrated. It was a charity sermon at the Cathedral, Calcutta, preached apparently extempore and certainly one of the most eloquent harangues I ever heard ; but towards the close of the sermon, after a most eloquent appeal to the feelings on behalf of the poor, when all eyes were fixed upon him and everyone's attention on the stretch, he made a sudden descent from the sublime to the ridiculous thus (after a pause)—I don't mean to say that you are to give to every beggar you meet in the street. For my part, when a beggar applies to me in the street, I always send him to Mr.——(the person who had the distribution of the District Charitable funds). There was an immense congregation. How we all kept our countenances I know not, but I am sure, that, had a titter escaped any one, the whole church would immediately have been convulsed with laughter. Wilson would have shown more on the stage than in the pulpit. I heard him during Lent, and Heber also, both on the same subject (the Dialogue) and perhaps you may best infer their character as preachers from the fact that, of Bishop Wilson's congregation, three-fourths

appeared to be women. Heber's congregations were, I think, equally large, but amongst them were all the literary characters of Calcutta, who made a point of attending his lectures. Wilson I remember preaching upon the 1st or 2nd Commandment, made a direct attack upon Mahomedanism. This was ill-timed; for Deism—pure Deism is the very essence of Mahomed's doctrine, and the Koran inculcates nothing so much as a horror of worshipping idols.

“I must give you an amusing example of Heber's bonhomie, which occurred on board the good ship *Thomas Grenville*. We had made a most rapid passage from England, until we came in sight of the coast off the Juggernath Pagoda in the Bay of Bengal. Here we were becalmed for several days—and a strong current running southward compelled us to anchor within a few miles off the coast. Whenever a slight breeze sprang up the anchor was heaved up and the sails set; but the breeze seldom enabled us to stem the current, and we were obliged to drop the anchor again; this continued for several days—getting up and dropping the anchor five or six times a day. If you have ever been becalmed at sea for a few days, you must well know the disheartening effect which is produced on the spirits of the crew; the men got sulky, the officers irritable, and every one grumbled. Getting up the anchor in a large Indiaman is no trifle. Every available idler has to lend a hand at the capstan, and it sometimes requires all their exertions to get it up, especially when there was much cable out, as was our case. One day about noon the order was given to heave up the anchor. The part of the crew whose duty it is to work the capstan, gradually emerged from the holes and corners where they had sought refuge from the scorching rays of the sun. Slowly and lazily they fixed the capstan bars, and then leant upon them half asleep waiting for the first mate to put them in motion. ‘Round with the capstan,’ said the mate, and they commenced their work. In a very short time their progress round the capstan became slower, the clicking became less frequent, and then they came to a standstill. ‘Come heave up,’ said the chief mate. More hands were put to the bars,—the fifer played the most favourite tunes to coax them on—but no—it wouldn't do; not a click was heard. The mate began to swear, the men to murmur, but it was no use. Presently out came the skipper, Mr.—. ‘What's the matter now?’ ‘I don't know, Sir; the men won't heave the anchor up.’ ‘Oh!’ said the Captain, ‘I'll soon teach the lazy scoundrels how to work a capstan. Fo'c's'le there! send the boatswain's mate aft.’ ‘Aye, aye,’ said the midshipman on the forecastle, but the threat had no effect on the capstan; and it was very clear that the matter must soon come to a crisis. There was the skipper with a determined look evidently prepared to enforce his orders with severity, the chief mate, who was a pretty considerable

'Turk' and a most mischievous-looking fellow, playing with a rope's end, and every now and then casting glances of evil intent towards some of his *favourites* at the capstan bars, and there were the men at the capstan, great hulking lazy fellows, looking as if they would submit to anything rather than exert themselves to get up the anchor. Just at this moment Heber, who with myself and some other passengers was on the poop looking at these proceedings, seeing that an explosion was on the point of taking place which might end in serious consequences, without further ceremony doffed his black camlet jacket, jumped down upon the quarter-deck, and placed himself at one of the capstan bars. Of course we all followed his example. 'Come along, my men,' said the Bishop; 'we'll soon get up the anchor.' The effect was magical: the fellows gave a hum, round went the capstan, and the anchor was up in 'no time.' The men were never sulky afterwards. This may be considered a most undignified proceeding for a Bishop; however, it displayed the goodness of the man and won the hearts of the whole ship's company.

"Heber's delivery as a preacher was not considered good; he had a slight hesitation in his speech, but which though against him when addressing strangers really added, in my opinion, a kind of earnestness to his manner when preaching to those to whom this peculiarity had become familiar. He had not the most distant appearance of the theatrical. He was just what you recommend as the *beau idéal* of an English preacher; his earnest manner and his beautiful (not flowery) language riveted the attention, and the amiable character of the man went not a little way in giving force to his arguments. But he shone particularly on a Sunday morning on the quarter-deck when his sermons, as addressed to the seamen, were given in homely language. Never was there a more attentive congregation than the ship's company of the *Grenville*."



Slavery Days in Old Calcutta.*



THE history of slavery in India goes back to remote antiquity. Its broad principle is distinctly traceable as early as the period of the institution of caste system among the Hindus, by which the Sudras were formally declared as the servile caste and made hereditary bondsmen to the remaining superior sub-divisions of the race. With the inrush of Mussalman invaders and the consequent chaos that overspread the land, slavery would seem to have obtained a fresh and strengthened lease of life. Prisoners of war and unyielding or rebellious foemen were relegated to slavery in large numbers by the conquerors, in conformity with the then prevailing canons of warfare. In some cases, the new-comers did not even hesitate to effect among the vanquished races a compulsory and wholesale conversion to Islam.

When the Europeans first came to India, in the pursuit of commerce, they found slavery established in the land as a commonly accepted institution, which had long since outgrown its original novelty. There were several recognised and prevailing modes by which a person might become a slave : " He might be taken in battle ; he might be bought for a price ; he might be born of slave parents ; he might liquidate his debt by bartering his freedom ; he might form part of a wedding dowry ; he might change owners as part and parcel of the land which he and his forefathers had tilled." Among Mahomedans, who gave India a dynasty of " Slave Kings," kindness to the slave was an inviolable religious injunction, and the Hindu slaves too were, generally speaking, treated humanely. But there was an important difference between the respective status of the Mahomedan and the Hindu slave. The subserviency of the former was purely and strictly secular, while the Hindu laboured under a servility essentially spiritual, and only incidentally, or one should say, consequentially, worldly.

The rise of the East India Company as the predominant political force in the country did not lead to any change in the established order of things. They were rather chary of tampering with time-honoured social institutions ; and, for some considerable time to come, dared not oppose the tide of popular prejudice. It is a historical fact that at one time the Company itself engineered traffic in slaves, as a highly profitable concern. During the

* This article originally appeared in the *Civil and Military Gazette* and is here reproduced by the courteous permission of the Editor of that Journal.

administration of Warren Hastings, it was enacted that a dacoit, in the event of conviction, was to be executed at his native village, and that "the family of the criminal shall become the slaves of the State, and shall be disposed of for the general convenience and benefit of the people according to the discretion of the Government." Over and above this, as a means of avoiding the expenses incurred by the maintenance of gaols, an order was passed that "persons convicted of crime, instead of being incarcerated, should be sold for slaves or transported, as such, to the Company's establishment at Fort Marlborough in Sumatra." Thus, the East India Company formally sanctioned the perpetuation of slavery, and, we read, "slaves were regularly registered in the Court House, where a duty of Rs. 4 and annas 4 a head was paid."

During the eighteenth century, the Portuguese, among European settlers, earned an unenviable notoriety for their activity in the propagation of slavery. The Sunderbunds, by reason of the facility it afforded for piratical excursions, formed the head-quarters of their nefarious enterprise. As late as 1760, the neighbourhood of Akra, Budge Budge, was infested by slaveships belonging to the Portuguese and their disreputable allies, the Mughs; and they were held in such terror, that, about 1770, a chain was run across the river at Mukwah Fort (the site of the present residence of the Superintendent of the Botanical Gardens) to protect the port of Calcutta against them.

The following account is extracted from the *East India Chronicle* for 1758:—

"February 1717, the Mugs carried off from the most southern parts of Bengal, 1,800 men, women and children; in ten days they arrived at Arrakan, and were conducted before the Sovereign, who chose the handicraftsmen, about one-fourth of the number, as his slaves. The remainder were returned to the captors, with ropes about their necks, to market (*sic*), and sold, according to their strength, from 20 to 70 Rs. each. They were by their purchasers, sent to cultivate the land, and had 15 seers of rice each, allowed for their monthly support. Soon after this, the Sovereign, Duppung Gere, was deposed by his Cutwal, Kuddul Poree; 25 men and a woman of the captives took advantage of the disturbances, fled, and arrived at Chittagong in the following June. Almost three-fourths of the inhabitants of Arrakan are said to be natives of Bengal, or descendants of such, who pray that the English may deliver them, and they have agreed among themselves to assist their deliverers. From time immemorial, the Mugs have plundered the southern parts of Bengal, and have even been so hostile as to descend on the coast of Chittagong and proceed into the country, plunder and burn the villages, destroy what they could not carry away, and carry the

inhabitants into slavery. But since the cession of the province to the Company, the place for the most part has enjoyed quiet."

In Behar, we read, "numbers of boys of tender age were bought by dealers, and mutilated so as to grow up as suitable servants for the harems of rich lords, and little girls were disposed of to evil characters, to be brought up to lives of shame and vice."

In the latter half of the eighteenth century, slavery attained a widespread vogue throughout the length and breadth of the land. It flourished more particularly in the larger towns, having come to be regarded as one of the indispensable conditions of normal domestic life. Calcutta itself became an important centre of slavery. The following statement made in 1785, by Sir William Jones, Chief Judge of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, will be read with interest.

"Hardly a man or woman exists, in a corner of this populous town, who hath not at least one slave child, either purchased at a trifling price, or saved for a life that seldom fails of being miserable. Many of you, I presume, have seen large boats filled with such children, coming down the river for open sale at Calcutta. Nor can you be ignorant that most of them were stolen from their parents, or bought perhaps for a measure of rice in time of scarcity."

The above statements are amply confirmed by the following correspondence which was published in the *Bengal Chronicle* of February 1831:—"That slavery exists in Calcutta is a fact too notorious to be denied. I am led to this remark from a thorough knowledge of its actual existence, as also from being a frequent eye-witness of the extreme cruelty practised towards the generality of that neglected class, who are kept in such an abject state of blind ignorance and dread of the police, that although suffering the greatest of hardships, hardly one would have the courage to enter the precincts of justice. Slaves of both sexes are generally purchased from indigent Hindu or Hindustani mothers; a young girl will bring, according to her age and usefulness, from Rs. 16 up to Rs. 100. This traffic is generally resorted to by the Catholics to supply themselves with domestics; and I am sorry to say, a few, who profess the Protestant faith, though only in outward appearance, are also concerned in this inhuman traffic."

The perpetuation of slavery, at this time, constituted an indispensable condition of luxurious living. The following advertisements, reproduced from old Calcutta Journals of 1780, serve to indicate its immense vogue: "Wanted—Two Coffrees who can play very well on the French Horn and are otherwise handy and useful about a house, relative to the business of a consumer (*sic*), or that of a cook; they must not be fond of liquor. Any person or persons having such to dispose of, will be treated with by applying to the printer."

"Wanted—a Coffree slave boy; any person desirous of disposing of such a boy and can warrant him a faithful and honest servant, will please to apply to the printer."

"To be sold—Two French Horn men, who dress hair and shave, and wait at table."

"Strayed—From the service of his mistress, a slave boy aged twenty years, or thereabout, pretty white or colour of musty, tall and slender, broad between the cheek-bones, and marked with the small-pox. It is requested that no one after the publication of this will employ him as a writer, or in any other capacity, and any person or persons who will apprehend him and give notice thereof to the printer of this paper, shall be rewarded for their trouble."

"Strayed—From the house of Mr. Robert Duncan in the China bazar, on Thursday last, a Coffree boy about 12 years old named Inday; whoever brings back the same shall receive reward of one gold *mohur*."

"To be sold—A fine Coffree boy that understands the business of a butler, *kitmutga*, and cooking. Price four hundred *Sicca* rupees. Any gentleman wanting such a servant, may see him, and be informed of further particulars by applying to the printer."

And all this was barely a hundred and odd years ago! Well may the Calcuttaite of to-day marvel at the wonderful transformation which the city has undergone with the passage of years.*

The unfortunate slaves not infrequently received the most brutal treatment at the hands of their owners and masters. A contemporary writer mentions that "slave girls, for the slightest offence, and on the most trivial occasions, receive corporal punishment, entirely at the will and pleasure of their owners and I know many instances where punishments have been inflicted in a greater degree and by a more severe method than the criminal receives, who has offended the laws of his country. The common method of punishment resorted to is to tie them up, strip them to the skin (even grown up girls of the age of sixteen and seventeen are not exempted) before the male domestics, and flog them with a rattan in the most cruel and barbarous manner; another method of punishment, which I conceive to be proportionate with the first, is taking them to the well, in one of December's coldest mornings, and having a number of *kulsies* of water thrown over them in quick succession, so as hardly to give the sufferer time to draw breath." There is on record a case of fatal maltreatment accorded to a slave-girl, named Nasibun, by her mistress, Maria Davis, in 1828. On the other hand, there

* [With the publications of the Calcutta *Society for the Protection of Children*, one might well wish for a little more "transformation." The Society is making a heroic endeavour to suppress the till enormous trading in children for immoral purposes.—*Editor, Bengal: Past and Present.*]

are instances of bondsmen and women having received exemplary kindness at the hands of their owners, who extended to them the same treatment as that of a member of the family. One sometimes lights upon wills executed in those days in which it is instructed that the slaves of the testator were to be given a certain amount of money, or freedom, on his death, or both. A writer records that the wife of the Reverend Zachariah Kiernander, the founder of the Old Mission Church in Calcutta, had two slaves who were "bound to their mistress by the bonds of affection as well as of service." It was the custom among Hindus to feed and clothe slaves, to give them a cash present on the birth of each child, and to defray the wedding expenses of such as were permitted to marry, while with the Mahomedans it not infrequently happened that a slave-girl was promoted to the seraglio and allowed to set up as her master's favourite wife.

During the latter half of the eighteenth century, a strong wave of disapproval and dislike of slavery in general, swept over the civilised countries of Europe, and notably England, and it was hardly to be expected that the East India Company would long remain uninfluenced by the trend of public opinion. The Company had assumed the Government of the Country from Mahomedan rulers, who had recognised legalised bondage, and as most of the Moslem laws for the administration of justice had been unavoidably retained in their entirety, the enactments pertaining to slavery were perpetuated under the Company. The work of reform must needs have been slow, but it could not be indefinitely put off. That flagrant relic of barbarism could not survive for long in the face of the progressive impulses which contact with a liberty-loving and enlightened race engendered. The exportation of slaves was forbidden by a Proclamation in 1789, and their importation from Arabia and other countries was put a stop to in 1811. The sale of agrarian slaves by Government officials for the recovery of revenue was also prohibited in 1819. But these measures, on account of legal and technical difficulties, did not at once meet with the amount of success they deserved. The orders for the abolition of slavery were held to be inoperative, by reason of its long usage, and implied sanction by the Mahomedan law, which was still the law of British India. The Charter of 1833 tacitly sanctioned slavery, for, though it did not authorise or prohibit traffic in slaves, it could not very well help recognising their existence. Consequently, although the Court of Justice desisted from the sale of slaves for the recovery of revenue in pursuance of the official orders, private owners continued to buy and sell them.

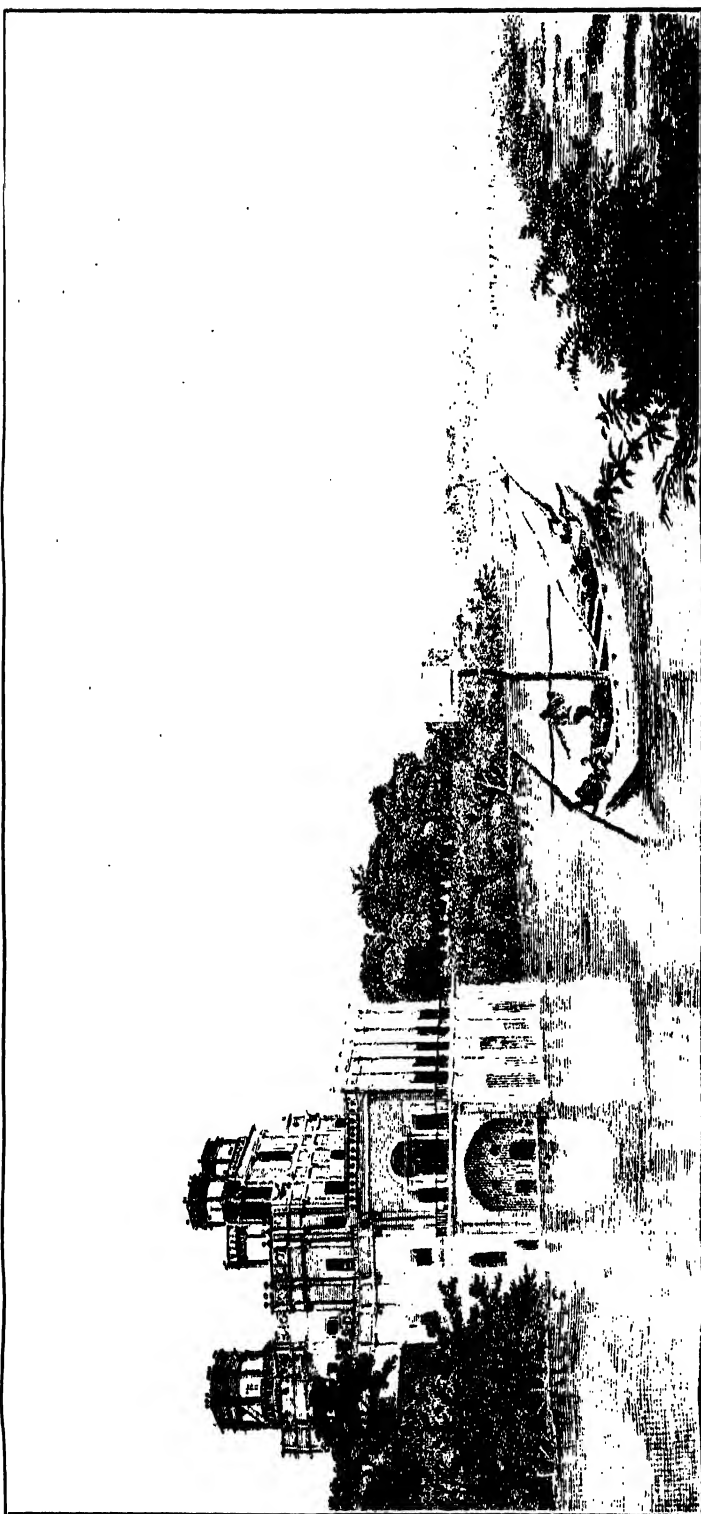
In 1831 the British Government emancipated all the slaves of the Crown. In 1833 the administration of Earl Grey formally abolished slavery, with effect from the 1st August 1845. Lest, however, an enormous multitude of

slaves should all at once be set free to the possible detriment of the country, it was enacted that domestic slaves were to be apprenticed to their late masters for four years and agrarian slaves for a period of six years. All children under six years of age, however, were ordered to be immediately liberated.

It is unnecessary to mark in detail the further steps of emancipation. Gradually, but nevertheless surely, the traces of slavery were effaced from the land, and the cause of liberty and humanity triumphed ultimately, over the forces of prejudice and demoralisation, after a prolonged struggle.

SYUD HOSSAIN.





HOUSE BUILT BY CLAUD MARTIN AT LUCKNOW.
(*European Magazine*, Vol. xviii.)

Some Notices of General Claud Martin.

I.

THE EUROPEAN MAGAZINE.

Vol. XVII. Jan.—June 1790, pp. 86-87.

AN ACCOUNT OF COLONEL MARTIN'S VILLA, NEAR LUCKNOW,

IN THE EAST INDIES.

(With a Plate.)



AS a monument of European taste and elegance in a remote part of the world, near eight hundred miles within land in the north of India, a short account of the accompanying engraving done from a drawing taken on the spot in the year 1784, may prove acceptable to some of our readers ; and will point out, among many other instances of British taste displayed in the East, how ill-founded the assertion of a celebrated gentleman has been, *viz.*, "That were we to be driven out of India this day, nothing would remain to tell that it had been possessed during the inglorious period of our dominion, by anything better than the ourang-outang or the tiger."* The contrary had long, previous to this assertion, been established in every part of India where British subjects reside ; and here by the ingenious owner of the above, Colonel Claud Martin, in this and other instances, to the great benefit and improvement of the arts in those parts. Indeed, in justice to this gentleman, it ought to be observed, that the East India Company have been much indebted to his skill on many important occasions, during thirty years of his honourable and faithful services, in almost every department, particularly when their footing in that country was yet in its infant state. A gentleman, who having some years ago beheld the spot on which the above elegant building stands, partly over-run with reeds and brambles, says : "The effect, which the change it had undergone produced on my mind on viewing it afterwards, was attended with a pleasing reflection on the advantages attending works of taste and magnificence in every country ; but more

* *Vide* Mr. Burke's famous speech of the 1st of December 1783, on Mr. Fox's India Bill, page 32, printed for J. Dodfrey [Dodsley?], Pall Mall.

particularly when found in such situations as from the state of the arts there, make the display of the former more meritorious, when, as in the present case, superior skill directs the inexperienced hand ; for there is no part of the building in question but what was performed by the natives of the neighbouring mean built city, under the direction of Colonel Martin ; nor is there any such, or one corresponding with its decorations, existing within the sphere of their observation in that part of the country." It is situated near the city of Lucknow, in the province of Oude, and is, perhaps, for its elegance and numerous conveniences, adapted to the different seasons of India, the completest private building for its size in that part of the world. It is built with brick stuccoed, partly on piers sunk within the current of the river Goomty, which runs with violent rapidity during the periodical rains, joining the Ganges about ten miles to the eastward of the city of Benares. To enter on a detail of the various conveniences and decorations of this place, would swell the description beyond what the nature of our work would admit the insertion of : for these we must refer to the drawing.

You approach the house on the land side through an arched gateway, sufficiently lofty to admit an elephant with its turret ; at some distance from this you enter the shrubbery through a winding walk, ornamented with the richest vegetable productions of India and China, with such of those of Europe as thrive in that climate. On your arrival close to the house, a drawbridge first presents itself thrown over a moat surrounding the building on the land side, communicating with the river, from which it can be filled at pleasure, either for the purpose of cooling the lower apartments or that of defence from the sudden attacks of banditti or rebels. This latter purpose of its construction will not appear very consistent with European notions of modern buildings, and renew our ideas of feudal jealousy. It is here, however, a most useful precaution, for the want of which Colonel Martin was near suffering severely in a neighbouring habitation during Chiet Sing's rebellion, when a body of rebels drew up in front of it to attack it, and had he not placed two small field-pieces at his doors, loaded with grape-shot, and himself at the head of his servants armed, which obliged the former to retreat. If the fine villas on Choultry Plain, in the neighbourhood of Madras, had had some such protection, perhaps they would not have suffered as they did in the late war, from Hyder's parties of horse. From the bridge you ascend by a few steps to an elegant piazza, commanding a prospect of the pleasure grounds, where you enter a beautiful and spacious hall of an octagon form, with the doors leading into the various apartments with which it is surrounded on three sides, so disposed as to admit at pleasure a free current of air through them from every quarter. This leads to one of the finest rooms in India for size, proportion and finishing, built on the arch in the river ; the

prospect from hence over the latter, toward the Faizabad road, does not contain much variety, but is richly interspersed with mango groves and corn fields; that of Lucknow from one of the end windows promises a much finer city than on entering it exhibits. After passing through two smaller apartments, communicating with this room and the octagon hall, you descend to a range on a level with the river, containing baths and fountains—the latter so disposed as to keep playing with advantage in the equal distribution of water against the windows, which, when the hot winds prevail during the spring months, are kept covered in the day time with frames filled with green brambles; these, being kept constantly wet by the fountains, cool the wind in its passage into the apartments, and thereby procure a constant temperature within, proportioned to the strength of the wind abroad, and capacity of the frames to retain the water dripping. The upper apartments, with their terraces and turrets, are principally disposed for the purpose of sleeping in the open air, and recreation during the nights of the hot season. The observatory is well supplied with philosophical apparatus.

There are few modern productions of arts calculated for instruction, that could be transported hither from Europe, but what are to be found amongst some of the various collections deposited here by Colonel Martin, with many proofs of his own superior talents and ingenuity, to the great delight of the intelligent traveller and neighbouring natives, to which the famous Zoffanij* bore testimony when lately at this place.

We are the more happy in having it in our power to present our readers with the above, as this building and its contents have not a little contributed to impress the less-informed of the natives of that remote part of the country with just ideas of the superiority of European taste and knowledge.

THE EUROPEAN MAGAZINE (Vol. XXXIX, January-June, 1801, pp. 329-333).

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "EUROPEAN MAGAZINE."

March 25, 1801.

SIR,

The latest dispatches from Bengal brought advice of the demise of Major-General *Claud Martin*. As an extraordinary personage who raised himself from the lowly situation of a *private trooper* to respectable *rank* in the army, as well as to a very uncommon degree of *opulence*, a connected memoir of his life may prove, perhaps, neither unacceptable to your general readers nor to his surviving friends and companions.

* Zoffany.

Claude Martin was a native of the *Lyonnois*, sprung from a humble lineage, principally employed in the more toilsome and ordinary occupations of the *silk-manufactory*, the staple of that province, which first excited, perhaps, the *mechanical propensity* he afterwards displayed. Some of his kindred reside at this time, it seems, in or near *Lyons*, enabled by his pecuniary and (though he often complained bitterly of their *neglect* and of their inattention to him during his state of indigence) to traffic *wholesale* in the superior branches of *that* commerce, to which they could precedently contribute in *retail* only, by their manual labour.

In his youth, but not very early, he became a *soldier*, and not long after was draughted into a troop of light dragoons, incorporated for the purpose of accompanying *Count Lally* to *India*, there to form his bodyguard.

The *Count*, though a gentleman of talents, intelligence, knowledge of the world, and of pre-eminent skill and gallantry in his *profession*, was unhappily cursed with an irritation and impatience of temper, as galling to others as harrasing to himself. Naturally imperious and opinionated, conceited of his rank, and presumptuous of his descent, he, on his arrival at Pondicherry, unluckily encountered persons in the administration there the very reverse in every particular of himself; *Raturiers* [*sic*] in extraction, neither estimable for their intellectual or practical qualifications, and destitute of all political enterprise; mere mercantile *automata*, in short, devoted only to commercial or speculative operations; neither of their persons or understandings could his arrogance, for one moment, whether in their presence or absence, suppress the emotions of his contempt and aversion. To that excess, indeed, did his antipathy extend as to impel him to erect a gibbet in front of the *Council House*, "in terrorem" to their deliberations. Although not actually thus insulting and supercilious to his *own officers*, numbers of whom were noblemen and *chevaliers* of distinction more illustrious than his *own*; yet were they commanded by him with so rigid, so *vexatious* a discipline and authority, as to constrain many of them indignantly to relinquish the service and retire to *Europe*, and the soldiers attached to them, in consequence to desert in numbers, a *secession* productive, some few years after, of his *arraignment* and *execution*.

Amongst others which thus abandoned their colours was the entire *corps* that constituted the *Count's* cavalry guard, who went off *in a body* with their horses, arms and accoutrements.

They were favourably received by the *English* Commander-in-Chief, almost immediately nominated by him to the same confidential station they had occupied in the *French* camp, and never once gave him occasion to repent of the generous credit he had anticipated to them.

* *Claude Martin* was then private in that very troop, and early noted by several officers for his spirited activity in different rencounters. The French forces being the same year defeated in various engagements, *Pondicherry* surrendering, and the *Peace of Paris* being proclaimed, the Government of *Madras* licensed several foreigners to enlist recruits from the captured regiments for the Presidency of *Fort William*, and *Claude Martin*, countenanced by the Commander-in-Chief, raised accordingly, a company of *chasseurs* from the French prisoners and received a subaltern's commission to command them.

Not many weeks then elapsed before this company destined for *Bengal* was embarked on board an old country vessel, called the *Fatty Salam*, far too deeply laden, not only with salt in bulk, but with mortars and other large iron ordnance, shot, and stores taken in *Pondicherry*. But she had scarcely proceeded half way up the *Bay* before she sprang a leak and almost immediately foundered. A few only of the passengers and crew escaped in the ship's boats. Of the number saved *Ensign Martin* was fortunately *one*, who after divers perils and hardships encountered on the

*Copy of a letter from Colonel Malleson, Historian of the French in India to Mr. J. W. H. Stobart, Principal, Lucknow *Martinière*.

MYSORE, 9th July 1873.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have just received your note of 2nd instant.

By to-day's post I send you a little brochure (in French) by M. Octave Sachot, which contains all that I have been able to find out regarding the earlier career of the founder of the *Martinière*.

Some three or four years ago, at the request of M. Sachot, I made every possible enquiry regarding him. I applied to the late General Broome, who had made the history of those times a special study, and I searched through the annals bearing upon those times. The results I communicated to M. Sachot, and he has used them in his pamphlet.

With reference to the question of desertion from the French, a crime generally attributed to Martin, and from which M. Sachot absolves him, I may say that it is clear that *Claude Martin* did not belong, as has been generally supposed, to the Bodyguard which did desert, but to the Regiment of *Lorraine* which did not. He was, in fact, taken prisoner. The mistake arose from the fact that there were two Martins in the Bodyguard, neither of whom, however, bore the name of "Claude." I extract the following from a note in the *East India Military Calendar*, Vol. II, page 75: "All the others, being prisoners of war, were sent to Bengal, where a number of them engaged in the Company's service and were placed under M. *Claude Martine*, their countryman, who had formerly served in the Regiment of *Lorraine*."

I will look through the Annual Register for any further details on the subject, and, should I find any, I shall not fail to communicate them to you.

Believe me,
Yours very faithfully,
G. B. MALLESON.

Page ii. of cover.—General Martin's medal (or coin).—On the obverse he appears in the uniform of the Honourable East India Company, in whose service he died a Major-General. On the reverse are

Coast, at length reached *Calcutta* in a very desolate plight. Relief from Government was presently, however, administered to *him*, and his few surviving forlorn *fellow-sufferers*, his *immediate* wants supplied and his *future ones* provided for, by placing him as *cornet* in a squadron of *cavalry*. In that capacity he continued, till by advancing in regular succession, he at length obtained a *company of infantry*; when being conversant in *surveying*, he was selected to trace and to delineate some of the *North-East Districts of Bengal*. He remained thus engaged for some years, till, being directed to assist in surveying the *Province of Oude*, he fixed his principal residence at the *capital, Lucknow*, where displaying singular ingenuity and versatility of contrivance in the casting of cannon, constructing of carriages, fabrication of arms, manufacturing powder and sundry other mechanical processes, the *Visir* solicited, and obtained permission for him, from the *Governor and Council*, to superintend his artillery, armoury and arsenal.

Yet notwithstanding so *mechanically disposed*, *Captain Martin* was by no means principled in *science* or conversant in *erudition*. *Pure abstract mathematics* constituted no part of his studies or pursuits; but *merely* as an *imitator*, there were few *engines* or *models of machines*, indeed, which he could not *empirically* fabricate, either from inspection or some perspicuous descriptions of them. When embarrassed, however, by any multiform involution of parts or complexity of structure, the superior *perceptive* intelligence and geometrical information of his two intimate friends and

titles in Persian almost as high-sounding as some of those conferred on Lord Clive, Lord Lake, and others by the Great Mogul :—

"Distinguished Noble, Honoured Lord, Sword of the Country, General Claude Martin Bahadur, mighty in Battle," the date given being in Hijra 1211, corresponding to A.D. 1796.

These medals, which are in all respects like coins, may still be seen in gold and silver and copper. A "complete coining machine" was advertised in the *Calcutta Gazette*, 18th December 1800, as being for sale amongst General Martin's effects.

Page ii. of cover.—Major-General Claude Martin, son of a cooper of Lyons, was born in 1735; embarked for India as a private soldier in the French Army in 1751, and afterwards served under Count Lally de Tollendal in the Regiment of Lorraine, one of the bravest of the brave regiments under Lally. This gallant regiment was true to its salt, and stuck to its colours from first to last, right down to the final capture of Pondicherry by Sir Eyre Coote in 1761. As the contemporary historian (Orme), speaking of that surrender, says :—

"The Grenadiers of Lorraine and Lally. . . . from their first landing, throughout all the services of the field and all the distresses of the blockade, not a man of them had ever deserted to the English colours. . . . The victor soldier (Colonel Coote) gave his sigh to this solemn contemplation of the fate of war which might have been his own."

When the struggle between the English and the French ended, "M. Claude Martin, who had formerly served in the Lorraine Regiment," received a commission as Ensign (1763) in the Army of the Honourable East India Company, stipulating that he should never be required to fight against the French. He remained an Officer to the day of his death—13th September 1800—and rendered the Company excellent service in many ways. By his Will he founded and endowed the Martinière Schools at Calcutta, Lucknow, and Lyons.

constant associates, *Colonel Poher* and *Le Pere Wendel*, a German *ex-Jesuit*, were of eminent utility to him.

From this period may be dated the commencement of *Captain Martin's* unremitted prosperity.

In order to ensure his continuance at *Lucknow*, the ultimate aim of all his purposes, he judiciously proposed to the *Council at Calcutta* (always like their masters, in the extremes of niggardly parsimony or prodigal profusion) to relinquish his title to further pay and allowances from the *East India Company*. The remission was sordidly accepted, and on that express condition, his establishment at *Lucknow*, became confirmed.

During all the succeeding revolutions and changes, both in the *Visir's* and in the *English* administrations, the real unaffected good nature and obliging condescending deportment of *Captain Martin*, conspicuous in a thousand little grateful assiduities, conciliated the good-will of individuals of every distinction. To gentlemen in opposition, as well as to those in power, he continually transmitted such articles of natural history, literature, antiquity and manufacture, as not being costly enough to offend the punctilious delicacy of casuistical scruples, or conscientious integrity, yet from their curiousness and scarcity could not but prove highly acceptable: and to their ladies, what is defined to be the essence of an elegant present, rarities that cannot be purchased for money, nor—I had almost said—for love itself. Nor was a refresher now and then wanting to his illustrious patrons to revive their memorials of him. To this intent was ransacked the remotest tracts of *Cashmere*, *Napaul*, *Candahar* and other regions, from the frontiers of *Oude* to the confines of *Tartary*, which by means of his agents, *Catholic Missionaries*, *Hindoo Merchants*, *Mussulman Caravans* and his own immediate agents, became the extensive circles of his perpetual research. *Persian* horses, ermines, sables, shawls, finest linens, tissues, feathers, atah, pictures, illuminated manuscripts, medals, coins and gems were accordingly collected, for his selection, from every quarter, encouragingly purchased, and then liberally distributed by him, for the undeviating purpose of retaining his situation with the *Visir*.

To every recommendation also, either from his civil or his military connections, was he peculiarly attentive—his house, table and services being the receptacle, the accommodation and the auxiliary of every gentleman provided with those amicable credentials.

Nor to support an expense so considerable were his means incommensurate. From the *Visir* he received honourable allowance, exclusive of emoluments accruing from the provision of stores and materials for his magazines and works. The confidence and patronage of the *Ministers* was productive also of pecuniary advantages to him; for though not often seen

at the *Durbar*, nor *ostensibly* confederate in their councils, they seldom failed to advise with him on every political procedure, whether foreign or internal ; the *emissaries* of the *Court*, usually repairing to his house, *incognito* during an *evening*, to discuss the measures in contemplation. Furnishing the *Vizir* from Calcutta with all kinds of choice and valuable productions of *European* invention or manufacture, was another and not inconsiderable source of profit to him ; and still further benefits resulted to his fortune from a reputable credit established amongst the *shroffs* and merchants both in *Oude* and the contiguous provinces : so that few *public loans* or other *fiscal* speculations were adopted, independently of his concurrence and participation ; the capitals whereof were ascertained to the creditors by the security of landed property with an *interest* of not less than 12 per cent. To which may be added accessions of gain from *private partnerships* with natives as well as *foreign* traders, in the transport of sugar, cloths, indigo, grain, etc., etc., to Bengal from the upper provinces.

The greatest increase of wealth, however, was derived to him from quantities of *pledges* or *deposits* ; of all sorts of sumptuous, splendid and precious commodities confided to his care, in times of alarm, commotion, distress, or of impending danger, by persons of every description and denomination, as the safest preservative for their property under an oppressive unsettled Government they could, on the instant and unpremeditatedly, devise. For this protection, *adequate consideration* from the parties was, of course, *understood* whilst a portion of the articles themselves were, perhaps, never afterwards reclaimed or redeemed.

In this career of *hourly* accumulation did he pass about twenty-five years of his life.

During the infancy of their military institutions, the East India Company had interdicted the rank of Field Officer to *aliens* or *foreigners*. By intercession of numerous friends, this *bar* to advancement was, however, suspended in favour of *Captain Martin*, who, in consequence, succeeded progressively to the degrees of *Major* and of *Lieutenant-Colonel*, under the *promised restrictive stipulation* respecting his appointments.

Upon the infraction of the *Mysore* treaties in 1792, *Lieutenant-Colonel Martin* presented the *East India Company*, at *his private expense*, with as many horses as served to mount a *troop of cavalry*, proffering at the same time *his own services* during the war in the *Carnatic*. The *donation* was accepted, and his public spirit first rewarded with the commission of *full Colonel*, and, when the *Provincial officers* became entitled to *brevets* from *his Majesty*, with the rank of *Major-General*.

After this promotion, declining into the vale of years, he exhausted his leisure between *Lucknow* and a *villa* on a pleasant spot about fifty miles from

thence, situated on a high bank of the *Ganges*, and surrounded by a domain of about eight miles in compass much resembling an *English Park or chace*.

Some years preceding his retirement from active service, he had constructed a spacious and lofty house on the borders of the *Goomtye* (or *Mæander*) wherein there was nothing of *wood* except doors and window frames. Elliptic *arches* of masonry vaulted the ceilings and *stucco* terraced all the floors. The *basement* story, comprising two kinds of *caves* on *recesses*, within the banks of the river, was level with its surface, when at its extreme decrease ; and within the *lowest* of these *retreats* did he dwell, till the annual floods swelling the stream, constrained him to ascend to the *second grotto*, and then again to a *third apartment*, till the highest elevation of the waters raised him to the ground floor ; so that he remained perfectly *cool and comfortable* during the entire inclemency of the *solstitial* heats and *periodical* rains. A handsome *saloon*, elevated on *arcades* projecting over the *current*, and forming a *piazza* to the two *inferior* cells, accommodated him in the spring and winter seasons. Two more upper stories contained a *musæum* crowned with an excellent *observatory* replete with an *astronomical set of instruments*, exceeded by very few in *Europe*, unparalleled in *Asia*. To this mansion appertained, also, an *extensive garden*, cultivated not only with trees, shrubs and flowers, but with many species of excellent grain and pulse although the *General* had little knowledge, probably, of the terms of *Cryptogamia*, *gynandria*, or *masculine ladies*, or of *plants* being *crossed in love*, like the *oyster* of the *critic*, or of their *cuckolding their paramours*, like the *Nigella*, or *Devil in a Bush*, and the *Colinsonia* of the sexual system.

Within the precincts of his artillery yard was erected a *steam engine*, sent from *England* ; and he even fabricated *balloons*, however uninstructed in the *vocabulary* of *gases*, whether of *hydrogen*, *oxygen*, *nephritic*, *azote* or *carbon* ; or unacquainted with *coloric*, *phlogiston* and all the *gibberish* of *chemical nomenclature*, ever fluctuating and perpetually changeable, in consequence either of *recent discoveries* or *detected errors*. When he had exhibited his first small *balloon*, the *Vizir* requested he would prepare one capacious enough to carry up twenty men. The *General* represented to his *Excellency* the hazard of such an experiment to the lives of the *aërial* voyagers, when he hastily replied, " Give yourself no concern about *them*. Do you make the *balloon*, and I'll make them go up, I warrant you."

About the middle of the year 1798, the *General* expressed an inclination to return to *Europe* and wrote to a friend for advice on this intention. In answer, his *friend* begged to know, where he could exist so happily and securely as in his *present situation* ? Already possessed of fine estates, comfortable habitations, delightful gardens, handsome equipages, field sports

innumerable, an excellent stud, an amusing and instructive library, philosophical apparatus, sociable and agreeable companions, lovely women, choicest wines, delicious fruits, festal garlands, fragrance in profusion, with a luxuriance of delicacies for convivial entertainment ("*chere entiere*" in short); in what part of the world could he experience more *ample gratifications* and enjoyments? His *correspondent* represented to him, at the same time, the wildness of the times, *ancient* principles and opinions being all afloat; the insecurity of every part of *Europe*, and one State alone in the known world, that of the *American Confederation*, affording personal sanctuary or refuge for *moveable property*; and he described France, Spain, Austria, Holland, Prussia, Hungary, Sweden, Denmark, the Palatinates, Russia, Italy, Switzerland and all the hauxatic towns and imperial cities of Germany, so *exhausted*, and so exceedingly *disarranged* in their *finances*, that *thirty years* of undisturbed repose would at least be required before they could any of them, even with the *strictest economy*, diminish their *taxes*, or reduce so much of their *national debts* as might prove competent to render their *funds* efficiently *responsible* to the *proprietors*.

Amongst his latest avocations, the *General* amused himself with designing a *stronghold*, or rather *castle*, similar to those of the Paramount Lords, the Seizeurs and Barons of the age of chivalry. Beneath the *battlements* were *casements*, secured by massive iron doors and gratings thickly wrought. Every *lodgement* within the walls was substantially *arched* and *barred*, and all their roofs rendered completely *bomb proof*. Around the *castle* was excavated a wide and deep *moat* fortified without by *stockades*, in a covert way, and *barricaded* within by works, rendered impregnable to sudden insult from any *Asiatic Power*. Within this *Fortress*, though not entirely finished at the time of his decease, he has desired to be interred.

A few more unconnected incidents closes this narrative. For some years after he kept house at *Lucknow*, his *table* (to which, however, strangers as well as acquaintances were always welcome) was served in a careless slovenly manner, and with most abominable *viands* more resembling the *green* and *yellow* dinners of a *Spanish* or *Portuguese* Ambassador, or the ordinaries of *French* or *Italian* "*tables d'hôte*" than the neat comfortable repasts of an *English Officer*. Latterly, however, his *economy* expanded into a more decent and select expenditure, sparing no cost in provisions, or in *cooks* to prepare them for the entertainment of his guests.

Notwithstanding his long residence with the English, he acquired the language but very imperfectly; yet would he scarcely ever refrain from *attempting* to converse in *English such as it was*, or to write it *still worse* even to those whom he *well* knew both spoke and wrote in French with correctness and fluency.

From leading a life at *Lucknow* more *sedentary* than heretofore, and from discontinuance of exercise on horseback, he became sensibly attacked with *nephritic* paroxysms. Of his reduction of *one stone* by means of an exceeding fine, slender, steel *file* rounded off at the top and the edges and introduced through a *catheter*, into the *bladder*, he is said to have transmitted the particulars to some *Medical Society* in *London*. *Surgeons* in *England*, deny we are told, the possibility of such an operation without inducing a *mortification* of the parts, or exempt from *spasms* productive of immediate dissolution, although the fact is not lightly attested, it seems, by professional gentlemen in *Bengal*, who superintended the process, the agonies he endured from it, and the discharge of the gravelly and sandy concretions.

Amongst other *valuable treasures*, he possessed a *circular pink diamond* something broader than a *half guinea* of the purest lustre; the most *pellucid*, brilliant and *perfect jewel*, perhaps in the world, uniting in itself the beauties of the *ruby* and the *adamant*. When placed in the corner of a black hat, or rubbed against any rough woollen cloth, within a darkened room, *vivid scintillations* of light were evidently discernible from it.

What may be the amount of his considerable *fortune* is not yet, I believe, precisely ascertained, though if computed by the opportunities he had of acquirement for such a series of years, it must be *great indeed*. Report assigns a principal portion of it to have been bequeathed for the support of *Charitable Institutions* and *Endowments*, but *improvidently* consigned to the management of *Private Trustees*, instead of being committed to the conduct of some *immutable establishment*, such as the *Great Officers of State*, or some *Permanent Corporation*. Vested in *private* assignment, *few* are the pious mortmain benefactions, after the expiration of a few years, dispensed according to the will and *intentions* of the *testators*.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
TRIBUNUS.



Some Notes Relative to Places of Historical Interest in the Hughli District.



THE district of Hughli, though one of the smallest in Bengal, covering an area of only 1,191 square miles, is historically the most interesting in the province. Its story does not run back to time immemorial, as does that of some Indian districts. Its early history is comprised in a few references to Satgaon, which was for long the most important town in Bengal. But Satgaon is so old that little remains to show the modern visitor the site of the ancient city which flourished on the river Saraswati nearly two thousand years ago.

About the middle of the fourteenth century the Musalmans conquered Bengal, but the date is by no means certain. About A.D. 1340, Shah Safi gained a great victory over the Hindu Raja of Pandua, in commemoration of which was erected the Pandua Minar, said to be the oldest building in Bengal; though no one would think so to look at it, for, since it was thoroughly repaired by the Public Works Department in the first three months of 1907: it looks brand new.

The historical interest of Hughli district is entirely European, and dates back only three or four centuries. Here, on the banks of the Bhagirathi, within a few miles of each other, six European nations, Portuguese, Dutch, English, French, Danes, and Fleminings, founded settlements and struggled with each other, first for trade and then for empire. The first comers were the Portuguese, who visited Bengal for the first time about 1518 and began to frequent the Hughli river as traders about 1530. But Portugal was already, even at this time, a decaying power, and the Portuguese never recovered from the capture of their fort by Kasim Khan, under the orders of Shah Jahan, in 1632. The Dutch came next, almost immediately after the ruin of the Portuguese power, in 1632. The English first settled at Hughli about 1651, the French at Chandernagar about 1676, the Danes about 1698 at Gondalpara in the southern portion of what is now the French territory, a place still sometimes called Danemardanga. It was not for another half-century that the Danes occupied Serampore, in 1755. The Ostend Company

(Flemings) had a brief but disastrous history in Bengal, their settlement at Banki Bazar, the modern Garulia, on the east bank of the river, being occupied only for about ten years, 1723 to 1733.

The name Hughli is said to have been bestowed upon the town on account of the large quantity of reeds, *hogla* (হোগলা), which used to line the river banks at this place. These reeds may still be seen here and there, but are by no means a prominent feature of the landscape now. The river takes its name from the town, not *vice versa*. The real name of the river is, of course, the Bhagirathi; but it gradually came to be known to the early voyagers as the Hughli river, or river of Hughli, *i.e.*, the river on which the town of Hughli stands.

Until quite recent times the spelling of Indian proper names, of persons or places, was very much a matter of personal choice, and the variations of spelling the name Hughli to be found in different old works are numerous.

The following are some which I have noted from time to time :—

Ogouli	...	Bernier, p. 439.
Ougly	...	Delestre, p. 188.
Golin	...	Godinho.
Gollye	...	In a letter from Robert Hughes and John Parker, at Patna, to the East India Co., November 30th, 1620. (<i>Foster's English Factories in India</i> , 1618-1621, p. 213.)
Huygly	...	Fryer, <i>Travels</i> , p. 38 (published 1698).
Hugly	}	Various old documents, quoted in the notes to Colonel Yule's edition of <i>Hedges' Diary</i> .
Hughley		
Hughly		
Hukely		
Hukley		
Hewgly		
Hewghly		
Hughly	...	Hamilton, beginning of 18th century.
Houghley	...	Ives, middle of 18th century.
Hougly	...	Stavorinus, latter part of 18th century.
Hougly	}	Warren Hastings' letter of 3rd November 1772, quoted in Hunter's <i>Annals of Rural Bengal</i> , p. 395.
Houghly		
Hughley	}	Sir Philip Francis, 1779. (<i>Busteed's Echoes of Old Calcutta</i> .)
Hughely		
Hooghley	...	Proceedings of Council of 29th November 1763, quoted in Long's <i>Selections</i> .
Hugeli	...	Ralph Fitch, 1585-86, in <i>Hakluyt's Travels</i> .

Goli ... Map in M.S. of Father Montserrat, S.J., 1591, in St. Paul's Cathedral Library. (*Bengal: Past and Present*, April 1908, p. 184.)

Finally the spelling of the name settled down as Hooghly. This, transliterated, according to the Hunterian system, becomes Hughli. Hunter himself omits the second H as superfluous (which it is) and writes Hugli.

While there is much of historical interest in the district, most of the places of interest are not only well known, but easy of access, by rail, road, or river. Such places are:—Pandua, with the Minar, within a mile of the E.I.R.

Satgaon, on Grand Trunk Road, about mile 30-31.

Tribeni, on river; sacred temple (a very poor building) and burning ghat, the tomb of Zafar Khan Ghazi, about a quarter of a mile south, and a mosque behind the tomb.

Bansbaria, palace, and temple of Hamsesvari.

Hughli, The Imambara.

Bandel, the oldest Church in Bengal.

Chinsura, Dutch and Armenian Churches, College, Dutch Governor's house, and other old houses, and Cemetery.

Chandarnagar, Church and Cemetery.

Ghireti, Cemetery, and ruins of French Governor's country house.

Serampur, Danish Church, College and Cemeteries, with their memories of the Serampur missionaries.

Tarakeswar, sacred place of pilgrimage on E.I.R.

Even in these places, however, much that would have been of great interest has gone for ever. The English never had any regular fort at Hughli; it was not until they built Fort William that they had a real place of defence. But the Mogul Fort at Hughli, the Dutch Fort Gustavus at Chinsurah, and the French Fort Orleans at Chandarnagar, have vanished. The Mogul and Dutch forts were deliberately destroyed and their ruins utilised to make roads. All of these places enumerated above are well known, and many of them have been visited by the Society. It would serve no purpose to say more about them now. But it may be of interest to give some description of some other places, of less importance, no doubt, but less well known and less accessible.

The following notes contain descriptions of the Old Benares Road:—

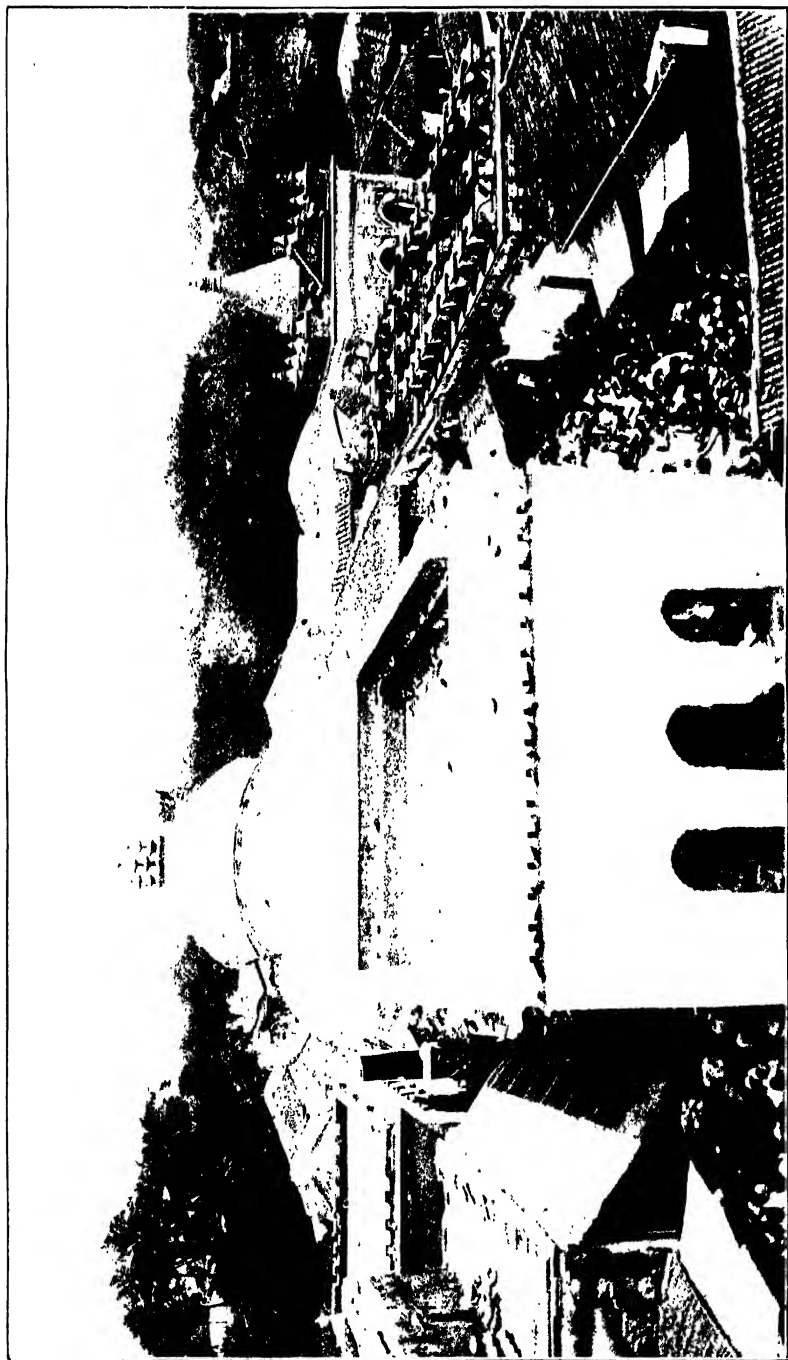
The Semaphore towers.

The Bhitargarh, or inner fort, in Goghat thana.

The Kishannagar temples near Khanakul.

The Narayanpur temple near Khanakul.

Ranjit Rai's tank.



THE TAKASGAWA TEMPLE.
(View kindly sent by the Proprietor of the "Empress.")

The Old Benares Road, also known formerly as Aholya Bai's road, once the most important road in Bengal, and the only means of land communication between Calcutta and the Upper Provinces. This road starts from Howrah, enters the Hughli district at Devipara, and passes from Hughli into Bankura at Khatul, eleven miles north-west of Arambagh. Its length in Hughli district is 49 miles, 7 furlongs, 106 yards, or just 114 yards less than fifty miles. For the first sixteen miles the Howrah-Sheakhala Steam Tramway runs along the side of the road.

A good deal of historical information, taken from official records, may be found in Toynbee's "Sketch of the Administration of the Hooghly District from 1795 to 1845," a book which contains much interesting matter about the early history of the district. Toynbee states (pp. 111-112) that this road, as the most direct route to the Upper Provinces, was the first road whose maintenance was taken in hand by Government, towards the end of the eighteenth century. It was then called the New Military Road. In 1797 Lieutenant Ranken was in charge of the road, in 1816 Lieutenant W. D. Playfair, who remained in charge until May 1828, rising to the rank of Major in the interval. In May 1828 the road was made over to the Magistrate of Hughli. Sir Frederick Halliday, who held that post in 1830, reported to the Government that every year large sums of money were wasted in piling earthwork on this road, earth which was washed away regularly every year by the floods of the Damodar river during the rains.

He wrote "where well secured and strongly piled *bunds* cannot be resorted to, the best road is that which does *not* rise above the level of the surrounding country." He stopped all work upon the road, which was now of much less importance than formerly, as the Grand Trunk Road, begun in 1804, had by 1830 made considerable progress, and since 1829 the troops marching had begun to use it in preference to the Old Benares Road.

About the same time, however, Colonel Ouseley, Agent to the Governor-General for the South-West Frontier, called attention to the importance of the road as a means of communication with his agency, writing :—"The now opening trade with Chota Nagpore and the whole of the South-West Agency in indigo, oilseeds, skins, and other jungle productions is brought along this line." The road which led to the South-West Agency is sometimes called the "Old Nagpur Road;" it leaves the Old Benares Road on the west bank of the Dwarkeswar river, on the east bank of which stands the town of Arambagh, formerly Jahanabad, the headquarters of the subdivision, and passes out of Hughli district into Midnapur, at Titalmari, 17 miles west of Arambagh.

In 1837 the Old Benares Road is described as being a melancholy picture of the effects of neglect, but still crowded with foot passengers and pack

bullocks. Out of 58 bridges, some of which must have cost from twenty-five to thirty thousand rupees each, only 32 were still standing in 1837, and they were fast falling into ruin. The rest-houses were dropping to pieces and their furniture stolen. By 1840 the troops had finally abandoned the road, and the parts liable to flood had fallen to the condition of an ordinary fair-weather track. Toynbee writes: "It is truly lamentable to think of the immense sums of money that must have been wasted on this road before it was discovered that to make a raised road across the flood spill of a country sufficient waterway must be allowed. The same experience was bought at the same cost in many other parts of the country, notably on the Grand Trunk Road between Midnapur and Cuttack."

The following description of the road is taken from an official report by myself. The date was 20th December 1900, after the road had been more or less put in order after the floods of the rainy season, *i.e.*, after diversions had been made at the chief breaches, and steep slopes smoothed off at some of the numerous khals which the road crosses.

"Forded the Damudar, banks sloping on east, steep on west, about two feet of water under western bank. The 33rd milestone is on the east bank of the Damudar. First mile, 33-34, road bunded and fairly good. Second mile, 34-35, road still bunded, but four large breaches and ruins of two pakka bridges, one large and one small. From 35th to 40th mile road very sandy, almost all one large area of spill water. Third mile, 35-36, crossed two large sandy river beds, both dry now. The 37th milestone is a little east of the Muneswari river. In 38th mile crossed Muneswari river, 20 yards wide, girth deep, a small boat for foot passengers. On its west bank a village, Harinkola, surrounded by a bund. The next half mile almost all spill channel, crossed one small riverbed and four larger ones, a foot of water in one. About 39th mile a large spill channel with a few inches of water in it; a large broken pakka bridge here. In 39-40th mile two pakka bridges standing, but road broken away on each side. At 40th mile reached Mayapur village."

I have ridden along this road many a time since 1900; it still remains in much the same condition as then, and is likely to do so. It has now been recognised that it is useless trying to keep up a good road crossing the spill channels of the Damudar at right angles. All that can be done is to patch up the worst places after the floods subside, and put up temporary bamboo bridges at one or two of the worst crossings; recognising that the work must be repeated yearly and that the road cannot be kept up through the rains. Such repairs were well carried out in the early cold weather of 1907-08, and in February 1908 the road was in better condition than I had ever seen it before. Strings of pack bullocks and long lines of foot passengers may still be seen, at the best a bullock cart gets along the road with difficulty.

On 28th April 1904 I saw the Damudar at the ford at Pursura on the Old Benares Road quite dry. Almost all the water of the Damudar now leaves the bed of that river through the Begua Mohana breach, on its western embankment, and passes down the Muneswari river. On 12th February 1908 the Damudar at Pursura was some few yards broad and not over a foot deep, while the Muneswari was in heavy flood, some seventy or eighty yards broad and ten to twelve feet deep. It had been in flood, I was told, for four days, and it had not fallen much when I recrossed it, on my return, on 16th February.

The Semaphore Towers.—In 1818 the Government of India started a Semaphore telegraph system, which was to be carried from Calcutta to Benares, like the series then in existence from Portsmouth to London. In 1821 Lieutenant Weston was at work, building the towers required for the purpose in Hughli district. He was succeeded in 1825 by Captain Playfair, probably the same officer who was in charge of the Old Benares Road, who appears to have finished the towers. The experiment was never carried to a conclusion, and was abandoned about 1830. Of course the introduction of electric telegraphy would have rendered the semaphore towers useless had the line ever been completed. How many of these towers were built I cannot say. There are still standing two in Howrah district, four in Hughli and seven in Bankura; the fourteenth, if it was ever built, would be in Manbhum. The first semaphore station would of course be Fort William. The first six towers are at regular intervals of about eight miles, and are exactly in a straight line, except that the first, Mohiari, is a little south of such a line. The first six towers stand at the following places:—

1. Mohiari, 8 miles north-west of Calcutta.
2. Borgachi, 8 miles north-west of Mohiari.
3. Dilakhas, 4 miles south-west of Kristonagar.
4. Haiathpur, 7 to 8 miles north of Khanakul, on east bank of Muneswari river, opposite its junction with the Dwarkeswar Kana Nadi.
5. Mubarakpur, 3 miles south of Arambagh, on east bank of Dwarkeswar.
6. Navasan, one mile north-west of Goghat, half a mile north of Nagpur road.

The seven towers which continue the line through Bankura are situated at the following places.—(1) Peno, (2) Pursotampur, (3) Tantipokhur in the Bishenpur jungle, (4) Ramsagar, (5) Chandrakona, (6) Bankura, (7) Chatra.

The towers are round, built with four storeys or tiers, and are about sixty feet in height. No vestige of a stair remains in any of those which I have seen, Haiathpur, Mubarakpur, and Navasan. The tower at Haiathpur is now on the very brink of the Muneswari river, which seems to have cut away the bank at this place during the last few years, and I should think it would probably fall before many other rainy seasons pass.

The Great Trigonometrical Survey was begun in Hughli district in 1830, suspended in June 1831, and started again in March 1832. Great opposition, both active and passive, was experienced from the people, and the work was not finished until 1845. There were eight survey stations in the district. The old semaphore towers of Dilakhas and Mubarakpur were utilised as two and the roof of the Hughli College as a third. For the other five, towers were built, about fifty feet high, at the following places : (1) Aknapur, three miles north-east of Tarakeswar, (2) Bhola, half-way between Nalikul and Singur on the Tarakeswar Branch Railway, and within a few yards of the railway on its north side, (3) Sathan, a mile south-east of Dwarbasini station ; Boga, five miles north of Naya Sarai, and (5) Niala, three miles north-east of Bainchi. This last tower fell in the earthquake of 1885.

The semaphore towers are round, the survey towers square. I cannot give any accurate measurements of either, but the former look much the larger of the two, both in height and diameter. 14545.

The *Bhitargarh*, or Inner Fort, is the name of an old ruined fortification, on the right or south-west bank of the Amudar or Amudwara river, a little to the east of the 14-15th mile of the Burdwan-Midnapur road. It is situated in Goghat thana, some three miles west and a little south of Goghat.

This is one of the most inaccessible corners of the province. Goghat is the most westerly thana of the Arambagh or Jahanabad subdivision of the Hughli district. The Bhitargarh is, by road, some ten miles west and a little south of Arambagh village ; by a short cut the distance can be reduced to about eight miles. Arambagh itself is sixteen miles in a direct line from Tarakeswar, the nearest railway station ; and 24 miles from Haripal, on the Tarakeswar branch of the E.I.R., the nearest railway station with which it is connected by road. It is about thirty miles from the Burdwan railway station, the road being good all the way, except for some two miles at the Damudar crossing, about three miles south of Burdwan. The Burdwan-Midnapur road is the same as that from Burdwan to Arambagh, as far as Uchalan, sixteen miles from Burdwan, where it branches off to the south-west.

The miles on this road are measured from Uchalan ; and, as the Bhitargarh is on the 14-15th mile, it is fully thirty miles from Burdwan. From Midnapur it would be some forty miles distant. All these roads, except that from Burdwan to Arambagh, are "kacha," or unmetalled, though in better condition last season than I have ever seen them before. It will be seen, however, that access to the Bhitargarh is not exactly easy.

The ruined fort may be described as follows. An earthen ramp, some ten to fifteen feet high, encloses a space of about five hundred yards square, roughly quadrangular, with the corners rounded off. The river Amudwara enters this space at the northern corner of the ramp and flows across it, passing

out at a gap in the eastern side, near its south end. The south-eastern corner of the quadrangle shows a distinct bulge outwards to the south-east the reason for which is not apparent.

On the right or south-west bank of the river stand the ruins of the "inner fort" or Bhitargarh. These ruins consist of a mound some two hundred yards square and I should think thirty to forty feet high in the centre. More or less all round this mound, but specially on the northern (river) and southern faces, may be seen traces of a wall, built of laterite blocks below, brick above. The sides of the mound are overgrown with jungle, both tree and scrub; so thick, that it is difficult to get through. The top is more open, though it also is covered with trees. The whole mound apparently consists of broken brick, more or less, but no trace of any definite building, even in ruins, is visible, except a Musalman tomb on the highest point.

This tomb consists of three terraces, 16 paces long from north to south, twelve from east to west, and each about two feet high. They are built of old stones, and apparently have been patched up from time to time. On the highest terrace is the tomb itself, some six feet long and three feet high. A yard from its northern end is a small brick pillar, with a niche in it for a lamp. There were many clay horses round the tomb, mostly very small coarse clay images, but one quite artistic and much larger.

The space between the northern ramp and river is high grass land. The rest of the enclosure is mostly cultivated as rice fields, except its southern end, which is a swamp.

Just outside the southern ramp lies a long narrow tank, which probably was once a moat.

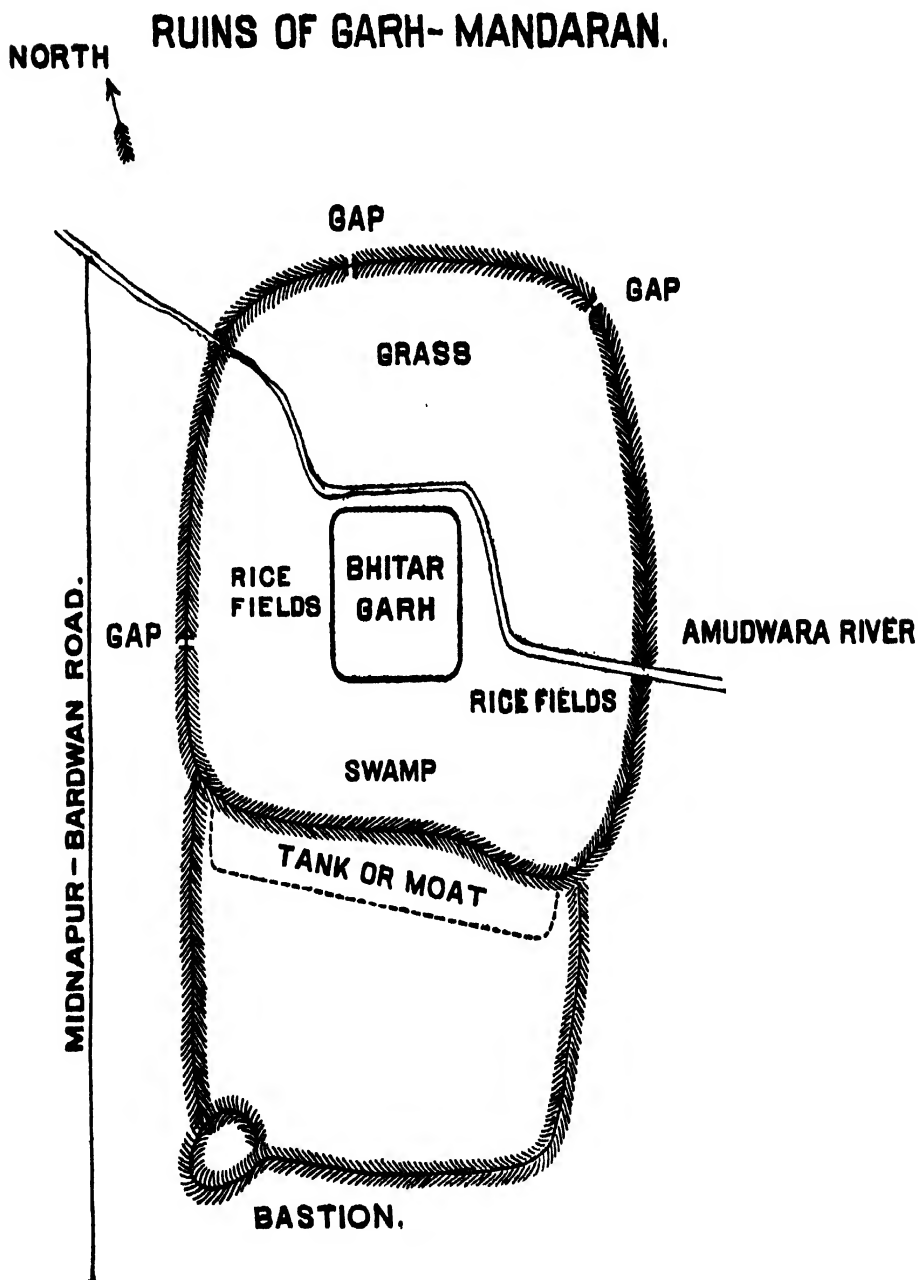
From the southern end of the outer ramp projects a second fortification, about 300 yards long from south to north and 500 broad, with a high mound at its south-west angle; this mound consists mostly of masses of roughly cut laterite, and must have been a strong bastion.

I am not aware of any history of this fort. It is said to have been one of the forts used as defences against the incursions of the Mahrattas, but probably it existed long before the seventeenth century. The tomb on the top is comparatively modern, and must have been built after the fort itself had fallen into ruins.

The situation is well chosen for defence against an enemy armed only with bows and arrows or even early firearms. Even if the outer ramp were taken, the garrison of the inner fort were sure of a water-supply from a river which does not run dry during the hot weather, washing the northern walls of the fort.

The ramp of the outer fort is now only some ten to fifteen feet high, and presents an easy slope on both inner and outer sides. Cavalry could

ride over it; indeed, it would *now* hardly check them in a gallop. But this is after the rains of a century at least, probably much longer, have acted on it. In the days when the ruin was a fortress it was probably much higher and steeper.



This fort is the scene of the story "Durgesa Nandini," by the celebrated Bengali novelist, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, who was Subdivisional Officer of Jahanabad about twenty years ago.

A little north of the northern ramp lie the ruins of Garh Mandaran. These consist of large mounds, fifteen to twenty feet high, covering a space of about half a mile square. A poor modern village covers part of this area. On one of the mounds, towards the south, stands a mosque, of no particular antiquity or interest.

Krishannagar (really Krishnanagar) is a fair sized village on the west bank of the Muneswari River, where the Mayapur-Khanakul road meets the river, about two miles north of Khanakul. There is a very fine group of temples here, at the south end of the village, on the river bank; one large temple with about a dozen smaller ones. They are dedicated to Krishna, under the name of Gopinath (Lord of Cowherdresses). At Khanakul itself there is a fair sized temple of Shiva, under the name of Ghanteswar, on the bank of the Muneswari. This temple appears to be in some danger of being undermined by the river.

Nurayanpur is a very small village on the north bank of the Dwarkeswar Kana Nadi and east bank of the Muneswari, just above their junction, opposite the Haiathpur Tower. I had never seen or indeed heard of this village until I visited it, inspecting vaccination, on 12th February 1908. In a thicket of jungle, on the bank of the Muneswari, at the north-east corner of the village, stands rather a fine old temple. Over the doorway, which faces south, are moulded bricks, with figures of men and animals in very good preservation. They appeared to me to be better than those in the old temple at Bansbaria; on the other hand, they are probably not nearly so old. All that I could ascertain locally about this temple was that it had been built and dedicated to Saligram, a very long time ago, by a man who had no heirs. What is meant by Saligram I do not know. A native subordinate official who was with me told me that Saligram was an incarnation of Vishnu, but this is certainly not correct. The Shalgrama is a black ammonite, regarded as sacred by the worshippers of Vishnu. But the Shalgrama does not seem to be a likely object of dedication of a temple. In spite of the absence of information about the origin and history of this temple, I should think though it is now falling into ruins, that it is probably not very old, perhaps not more than a century or so.

Ranjit Rai's Tank is a very fine tank which lies about three miles south-east of Arambagh, on the 1-2 mile of the Arambagh-Arandi Road, on the south-west of the road. The tank is about 250 yards square, its banks stand some twelve feet above the road.

The following legend in connection with this tank, was related to me some years ago, by Assistant Surgeon Syam Birod Das Gupta, then of

Arambagh. Ranjit Rai was a wealthy *Zemindar*, called by courtesy Raja, who lived in the village of Garhbhari, north of the Old Benares Road, about a mile east of Arambagh. He was a devoted worshipper of the goddess Durga, who on one occasion played the part of his daughter to show her appreciation of his devotion. On the morning of the day of the *Baruni* festival (the thirteenth day of the moon in April), a *Shankhari* or seller of conch shell ornaments, while passing the tank now known as Ranjit Rai's Tank, went down to the tank to get a drink of water. At the *ghat* he saw a beautiful maiden bathing, who enquired who he was. On hearing that he was a *Shankhari*, she asked whether he had a pair of *Shankhas*, or shell bracelets, which would suit her. He said that he had such a pair, but that they were expensive, their price being five rupees. The girl came out of the tank and asked him to put the bracelets on her wrists. She was pleased with them, and said that she would keep them, adding that she had no money with her, but that if he would go to her father, Ranjit Rai, he would pay for them. She further told the *Shankhari* to tell her father that he would find, in the room facing south, a small box of hers with five rupees in it ; and added that, if her father made any demur to paying, if the man came back to the *ghat*, she would pay him herself. The *Shankhari* went to Ranjit Rai's house, told his story, and asked for five rupees. Ranjit Rai, as it happened, had no daughter, and at first thought of simply dismissing the man as an impostor ; on second thoughts he went to look at the niche described and there found a box with five rupees in it. He then saw that some supernatural agency had placed the box and money there, and went with the *Shankhari* to the *ghat* where the girl had been seen bathing. She was there no longer, so the *Shankhari* called out "O beautiful maiden, who took the pair of *Shankhas* from me this morning, where are you?" In answer, a pair of hands, with the bracelets on their wrists, were raised from the water in the centre of the tank. The Raja threw himself down and prayed to Durga and in the evening celebrated a great *puja* at the tank. The *Baruni*, or bathing festival, is celebrated at this tank to the present time and attracts crowds from the neighbouring villages.

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Some Notes on Monghyr.



IN the number of *Bengal : Past and Present* for January 1908 Monghyr is suggested (p. 102) as an objective for a future excursion. The Society would find a visit to Monghyr one of great interest. The Fort and Town of Monghyr as well as the immediate neighbourhood have many historical associations. The situation of the Fort, a rocky point jutting out into a great river, is one which must have been occupied from the very earliest period, long before historical times. The value of such a site for defence, for aggression, or for levying tolls or plunder on the riverborne traffic passing along the Ganges, must have impressed itself on the first inhabitants who rose above the condition of primitive savages.

Twice Monghyr comes into history with some prominence, once under the Moguls, and once in the early days of the rise of the British power. Shah Shuja, second son of Shah Jahan, Viceroy of Bengal, held his court for the most part at Rajmahal, but occupied Monghyr for some time after he had thrown for his father's empire and lost. This was about 1657. Again, Mir Kasim, who was substituted for his father-in-law, Mir Jafir, as Nawab of Bengal, in 1761, made Monghyr his capital in 1762-63, as being more removed from English influence than Murshidabad, the former seat of Government. For many years Monghyr was an invalid garrison of the Company's Army (one of these invalids was still alive when I was at Monghyr), and was also owing to its healthy climate and the cheapness of living, a favourite place of residence for pensioners. The scourge of plague and the general increase in cost of living has, however, made a great difference in the last ten years.

The best work on this part of the country with which I am acquainted is Buchanan-Hamilton's *History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India*, a large work in three volumes, published in 1838. The title page gives Montgomery Martin as the name of the author. Martin, however, contributed only an introduction and some notes. The work is really a survey of this part of India, carried out, about a century ago, by Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton. Monghyr and Bhagalpur are described in the second volume. Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XV., "Monghyr and Purniah," gives little but statistics, and hardly touches on history and archæology. Another book on the district is *Natural History, Sport, and Travel*, by Edward Lockwood, a former Magistrate of Monghyr. (Published by W. H. Allen & Co. in 1878.)

It would be a good thing if some one could be found who would write up the antiquities of Monghyr for *Bengal: Past and Present*. I spent four years there myself—1894 to 1898—and knew the district well. But it is now ten years since I left, and recollections require verifying as much as references. I will, however, give a few notes on some of the objects of historical and antiquarian interest in Monghyr Fort, Town, and District.

1. The Fort, an irregular five-sided figure, more than a mile in circumference, the western and northern sides being washed by the Ganges. The Fort walls, except near the river, are rather ramparts than walls, nowadays footpaths lead over them at many places. Inside the Fort the chief objects of interest are—

(1) *Scandal Point*, a rocky point jutting out into the Ganges, where the two river sides of the Fort meet. Underneath the Point is a small Hindu temple and several subterranean rooms leading off a sallyport which passes under the road.

(2) *Karamchaura*, a very fine large house, said to have been built by or for the Marquis of Hastings, on a high bastion at the eastern corner of the Fort.

(3) *The tomb of Pir Nafá*, close to the western gate of the Fort.

(4) *The tomb of the Poet Ashraf*, on the bastion at the western end of the river side of the Fort.

(5) *The Jail*, containing several old buildings, formerly part of the palace of Mir Kasim, while Monghyr was temporarily the native capital of Bengal, in 1762 to 1763. The chief of these are—

(a) *The Jail Hospital*, said to have been the palace zenana.

(b) *A very large well*, both broad and deep. It would be interesting to clear out this well, and probably many unexpected objects would be found in doing so, but nothing short of a steam pump would do it.

(c) *The Magazine*, with walls 15 feet thick, now used as a convict barrack.

(d) *A Small Mosque*, now used as godowns. In the floor of this mosque, underneath the centre dome, is a dry well or pit, some ten or twelve feet deep. From this well four subterranean passages lead off in different directions. These passages had all been bricked up, a few yards from their entrances, many years before I went to Monghyr. There was a tradition that some prisoners had made their escape (from the jail, it is not likely that they ever got out at the other end), along one of these passages, years before. I believe that one of these passages went down to the river bank,

which is just outside ; a second to a large well in the garden ; a third to the subterranean rooms at the Point. Where the fourth may go I am not prepared to hazard any suggestion ; tradition says to Pirpahar, but three miles is rather a tall order for a practicable underground passage.

- (e) *Another large well*, but smaller than the first, in the jail garden, near the river bank. On the side next the jail, some distance below ground level is an archway, which may once have communicated with one of the underground passages.

It would of course be necessary to get the permission of the Superintendent to see the jail, but there would probably be no difficulty about that. When I was there, the jail used to be the chief sight of the station, and all visitors to Monghyr, European or native, used to come to see it.

A moat runs all round the Fort and is crossed by three bridges. Most of the year the moat is dry, but the Ganges runs round it when in high flood in the rains.

In the immediate vicinity of Monghyr town there are several places worth seeing—

(1) Three Hindu temples on a *kacha* road leading westwards out of the town, with large carved figures.

(2) *Dukhra Nala*, on the Patna road about three miles west of the Fort. There are here the remains of an old masonry bridge said to have been destroyed by Mir Kasim when he fled from Monghyr in 1763. The bridge is attributed to Shah Shuja.

(3) *Pirpahar*, the Saint's hill, a very fine house standing on an isolated hill, some three miles east of the Fort. Under the hill is a small European cemetery, also a Musalman burial ground. I remember that the largest grave in the former had on it above the epitaph, the words "Hush, she sleeps."

(4) *The old Cemetery*, just outside the Fort walls, between the Fort and the railway station. The modern cemetery is on the road to Sitakund.

(5) *Sitakund*, the famous hot spring, about five miles east of the Fort. There is no temple, but several small *pakka* tanks, one of which contains the hot spring, the water of the others is cold. The legend of the spring is given in Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XV. "Monghyr and Purniah," p. 75.

(6) There are three small rocky islands in the bed of the Ganges at Monghyr, called the Beacon rocks, about two miles west of the point. They are covered in the rains, but show at other seasons of the year. Near

Sultanganj station, in Bhagalpur, a few miles east of the eastern boundary of the district, is a much larger island with a temple on it.*

The above are all the places of interest which I can remember in the station itself and its immediate vicinity. But if one goes further afield, there are many more places worth visiting all over the southern half of the district. It is only a district officer, however, who has constantly to be travelling on duty about his charge, who can possibly find the time and opportunity for such visits.

The *Monghyr hills*, or Kharakpur hills, or Jamalpur hills, form a roughly triangular block, south of the Loop Line, east of the Chord Line of the East Indian Railway. Each side of the triangle is about thirty miles long. The highest point is Marok hill, a flat topped hill some ten miles south of Dharhara station, 1,526 feet high. I have crossed the hills in different directions, several times, once going over Morok. There are a number of hot springs in different places in these hills.

Kharakpur was formerly the seat of a Raja of a Rajput family converted to Islam. It is a small town, or large village, on the Man river, some twenty miles from Monghyr, eleven miles from Bariarpur railway station. There are a thana, dispensary, and a good resthouse. The tombs of the family of the Rajahs, which is now I believe extinct, may be seen, some distance to the east of the road, on the eleventh mile. About a mile and a half west of the village is a house belonging to the Maharaja of Darbhanga, who has an estate here. Half a mile further west is a lake, formed for irrigation, by damming up the Man and Sugi rivers; the latter falls into the former a mile or two above the dam. There is a waterfall, called the Panjkumari fall, or fall of the five maidens, on the Sugi river, a little above its junction with the Man. Going a mile or two up the Man, in the hills, a quarter of a mile from its west bank, is another very hot spring, which, as far as I know, has no name.

Rishikund, the devotees' tank, is a collection of hot springs at the north-east corner of the Kharakpur hills, about eleven miles from Monghyr, by a *kacha* Road. It is about two miles west of the third mile of the Kharakpur-Bariarpur road. There are said to be twenty-two hot springs here. I could not make out the exact number, but certainly there are a good many.

Bhimbandh, or Bhim's dam, is on the eastern face of the hills, near their southern angle. It is some twelve miles from Kharakpur, and is reached by a very *kacha* jungle track which leaves the Kharakpur-Jamui road near Gangta, seven miles south of Kharakpur. There are a number of very hot springs here, which partly form the source of the Man river.

* There is a photo of this temple opposite page 262 of the April number of *Bengal: Past and Present*.

Janamkund, or the Birth tank, is another hot spring on the northern face of the hills, five or six miles south of Kajra station.

The temple of Singhi Rikh is a small temple on the south side of a long valley running up into the hills from their western face. If I remember rightly there was another hot spring there too. The building is a very small one, of no architectural merit. It is five or six miles south of Kajra station on the Loop line, and about the same distance east of Mananpur on the Chord line.

Deograha, or Deoghara, is a small hill about ten miles south of Kharakpur, on the south-west side of the Gangta-Sagrampur road, close to the road. The hill appears to consist, not of an outcrop of rock, but of enormous stones, like the pebbles of the seabeach greatly magnified, piled one on top of another. The topmost stone of all is some forty feet cube, on its summit is perched a little Hindu temple. At its base, on the south side, is another small shrine, access to which is easy enough by a path. But nothing without wings could now reach the temple on the summit. Buchanan-Hamilton, a hundred years ago, mentions that when he saw the place there were ladders to the top, but they were in very bad repair. A Musalman lascar who was with him went up the ladders to the temple above, but none of the Hindus in his following dared to do so, though they were anxious to visit the temple (*Eastern India*, Vol. II, p. 56).

Shah Shuja's Bund is an earthwork some ten or twelve feet high, and as many broad, which runs from the Monghyr hills to the Ganges, crossing the Loop line of the E.I.R. about four miles west of Kajra station, and crossing the Monghyr-Patna road in its 24-25 mile. This *bund* is supposed to have been constructed by Shah Shuja, second son of Shah Jahan, and Viceroy of Bengal, after he had failed in his bid for his father's throne. At the same time he repaired the fort of Monghyr, but though he thus made preparation for defence, he never defended either, but fled eastwards and was finally lost in the jungles of the Arakan Hills. A few miles west of Barisal, on the north bank of the river between that town and Nalchiti, may still be seen the remains of a mud fort, Shujabad, which he constructed and occupied for some time during his flight. The *bund* has stood time well, being now some two and a half centuries old.

Uraon or Urain is a village on the south side of the Loop line, some two miles west of Kajra station and a little east of Shah Shuja's *bund*, which is said by some to have been the birthplace of Buddha.

The Sheikhpura hills are a range of low hills, running some six miles from north-east to south-west. At their greatest elevation they are only a few hundred feet above the plains. Near their north end they sink down to a height of some forty or fifty feet, rising higher again further north.

At their lowest part a cutting has been made through the hills from one side to the other. Evidently this cutting was started simultaneously from each side, for the two ends did not exactly meet in the middle and are connected there by a short crosscut.

This cutting is plainly visible from the road on the east of the hills, some half a mile off, and probably may be equally well seen from the railway a little further east. Sheikhpura is now a station on the South Behar line. Twelve years ago it could only be reached by a fifteen-mile ride from Lakhisarai. A mile or two west of Sheikhpura is a very large tank, large enough to be shown on the ordnance survey map of the district.

Fort Hastings is the name of an old ruined fort, once a British frontier fort, at Chakai, the most southernly thana in the district. Chakai is some 18 or 20 miles south-west of Simultala station, and about the same distance south of Jhajha (formerly Nawadih) station on the Chord line of the E.I.R. The earthworks of the fort are still plainly visible at the north-west of Chakai village. Not far off is an old European tomb, the name plate of which has long disappeared. Four miles north of Chakai is Bamdeh, one of the seats of the United Free Kirk Mission to the Sonthals.

In that half of Monghyr district which lies north of the Ganges there is nothing of any special historical interest. Some twelve miles north of Begu Sarai and a little north of Manjhaul Indigo Factory is the Kabar Tal, a very large lake or mere much overgrown with reeds and water weeds. In it is an island inhabited by hanumans, from which it takes its name of Monkey Island. On the east side of the lake are two small hills, or large mounds of earth, about which there is a legend that they were two shovelfuls of earth deposited there by Bhim.

D. G. CRAWFORD,
Lieut.-Col., I.M.S.



A Memoir of Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse of the Bengal Artillery. No. I.



COLONEL THOMAS PEARSE claimed his descent from a very respectable family ; his father resided at Reading, in Berkshire, and enjoyed a handsome independence, which, after the the birth of his son, was, by misfortune, irrevocably lost. The dawning prospects of young Pearse, the subject of the present *Memoir*, were thus early blighted, and the Army was chosen as the only resource left to provide for him in a manner suitable to his birth. These circumstances he mentions feelingly in a letter to an old school-fellow, Mr. Skinner, dated from Allahabad, 29th March, 1776 :—

“ Since you and I were happy together in our boyish days, I have experienced some changes : my father was ruined by the breaking of a Mr. Bellamy and a long and expensive lawsuit in 1757. They took me from school to carry me to the parade at Woolwich.”

Young Pearse was in his fifteenth year when admitted as a cadet into the Royal Academy at Woolwich ; and he went through his course of study in a manner peculiarly honourable to himself, in every instance exhibiting that firmness of mind and decision of character which distinguished him through life. On the 8th June, in the year 1757, young Pearse obtained a Lieutenant Fireworker's commission in the Royal Artillery, and was present on service with detachments of his corps, both on the Continent and in the West Indies, on many memorable occasions, as detailed in following extract of a letter to Lionel Darell, Esq. :—

“ I served through all the war before the last, beginning with St. Malos, Cherburgh and St. Coss in 1758 ; Martinico and Guadaloupe in '59 ; Belisle in '61 ; and Havannah in '62 ; and though I was not at the head, I was in the heat of every attack.”

Lieutenant Pearse, from his marked merit and abilities, found several warm friends amongst the celebrated and distinguished officers at the head of his corps, particularly General Desaguliers and General Pattison, with whom he kept up a constant correspondence.

The history of Colonel Pearse's coming to India is given in the following

letter to Brigadier-General Sir Robert Barker, Commander-in-Chief in India, dated the 13th February, 1773 :—

“In the year 1768, the Court of Directors, having determined to augment their troops on the Bengal Establishment, were anxious of having officers from the King's Artillery to promote into their service ; and also cadets to be appointed Lieutenant Fireworkers.”

“Application was accordingly made through Mr. Scrafton to Lieutenant-Colonel James Pattison, Lieutenant Governor-General of the Royal Military Academy of Woolwich, not only for cadets, but even to recommend officers ; in consequence of which I had the honour of being nominated to be Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of Artillery. I remained in expectation of my appointment for some weeks, and should have come to India with that rank, had not the Honourable Court of Directors thought proper to bestow it on Captain Martin, in lieu of the post of Chief Engineer in Bengal, which that officer did then enjoy.* I was, therefore, appointed Major of Artillery, and given to understand by the Chairman, that on the resignation of Lieutenant-Colonel Martin, or his death, or removal I was to be appointed to the command in his stead.”

The following commission was given to Colonel Pearse on his sailing for India :—

“The United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, to Thomas Deane Pearse, Esq. Greeting.

“We the said United Company, reposing a special trust and confidence in you, constitute and appoint you to be Major of Artillery in our service, at our Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, in the East Indies, and do give and grant you full power and authority to take your rank and post as Major of Artillery accordingly, from the day of your arrival at our said Presidency. You are, therefore, to take upon you the said charge and command of Major of Artillery, and faithfully, diligently and carefully to discharge the duty thereof, by executing all and all manner of things thereunto belonging ; and, we do, etc., etc.”

This Commission was signed on the 29th day of February, 1768, under the common seal of the East India Company and countersigned by P. Mickel, Secretary. Major Pearse sailed from England in March 1768, and arrived at

* At that time a Captain Campbell, an officer of the Royal Engineers, applied to come out as Chief Engineer to Bengal, and, having superior interest to Captain Martin, he obtained the appointment, and the Directors recompensed Captain Martin for his removal by appointing him Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of Artillery.

Calcutta on the 26th of August of the same year. On his arrival, he found that the Board had appointed a Captain Nathaniel Kindersley Major in the Artillery ; and, by back-dating the latter's commission, so as to make it senior to Major Pearse's, the command of the Artillery devolved upon Major Kindersley, as Lieutenant-Colonel Martin resigned on the 8th November following.

This disappointment, and what he conceived breach of promise on the part of the Directors, Major Pearse at first very severely felt ; but he reconciled himself with the hope that, on a fair representation of the case, justice would be done towards him. The supersession was peculiarly unjust to Major Pearse ; for Captain Kindersley (as it appears by a memorial to the Honourable Court of Directors) was a junior officer in His Majesty's Service ; and, as Major Pearse was aware that Captain Kindersley had sailed for India, he refused to proceed without the seniority of his rank to Captain Kindersley being acknowledged at the India House, and obtained the promise that he should not be superseded by him in India. The following answer from the Secretary to the Council was received by Colonel Pearse to an appeal made by him to the Honourable Harry Verelst, Esq., President and Governor, etc., of the Council of Fort William, dated Allahabad, 27th December, 1768.

To Major Thomas Deane Pearse.

"SIR,—I have it in command from the Honourable the President and Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter to them of the 28th day of December, soliciting the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel of Artillery, and to acquaint you in answer, that they are sensible of the hardness of your case, and the just plea you had for your remonstrance ; but as they had appointed Major Kindersley to the rank he now holds, previous to your arrival, and before they were acquainted with your views and expectations, they cannot but think it would be a piece of injustice to that gentleman, and an impropriety in their own conduct, to set aside their own commission they have granted him, and give the rank to you. A representation to the Court of Directors of your situation has been made. The application you have made to the Honourable President and Council to be appointed to the Infantry, it is beyond their power to grant you, which I am directed to inform you of.

"I am,

"FORT WILLIAM,

23rd February 1768.

"SIR,

"Your most obedient servant,

"EDWARD BARBER,
Secretary."

Both Mr. Verelst and Mr. Cartier wrote in a private way to Major Pearse to soften his disappointment. Mr. Cartier's letter was as follows :—

To Major Pearse.

SIR,—I have received your favour of the 19th March. Though the short acquaintance I had the opportunity of cultivating gave me the most favourable impression of your merit, I will not presume to rest my judgment on what a few accidental hours afforded me. I must have recourse, Sir, to your general character in life ; from that I am informed that you are not only eminent in the particular duties of your profession, but valuable in the different calls of private friendship. In these different views consider yourself to be thought by every gentleman forming the present administration : I am certain that it is so, and you may rely on my assurances.

“ In your late application to the Board, no one was there, I am certain, but considered it and the state of facts with the utmost candour—no one but thought that you had reason to complain in having the hopes you had been led to entertain so greatly disappointed. It was in general thought by the Honourable President and Council that it would be doing an injustice to Major Kindersley if they were to grant you the rank above him, who, though a younger officer in His Majesty's service, had served the Company with steadiness and merit some years before you came to this country. This, Sir, gave the gentleman a superior title in our late promotions, being confident the Company never intended to be guilty of intentional injury to individuals, either in the Civil or Military Departments ; and when accidentally they do commit it, a right we conceive they have with their Government here to redress it. However, the affair is very impartially transmitted home, and whatever resolution the Court of Directors may convey to us on this head, I hope will be submitted to with pleasure by the interested parties. We considered this contest with all possible partiality and be assured no personal predilection inclined us to either side.

“ I am with esteem,

“ CALCUTTA,

31st March, 1769.

“ SIR,

“ Your most obedient servant,

JOHN CARTIER.”

Several representations and very able memorials passed on the above occasions ; but the grievance was soon removed by Major Kindersley's death, which event took place on the 24th October, 1769, and Major Pearse was then promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and placed in command of the Bengal Artillery.

This distinguished officer held the command of the Bengal Artillery for 21 years ; he was an intimate friend of Mr. Hastings, and was honoured with the confidence of Lord Cornwallis ; and as his service in India took place during the Government of these illustrious statesmen, the numerous extracts from his original letters now published, will be found to possess extreme interest and entertainment ; forming in themselves a concise history of the times, and throwing new light upon many important scenes connected with the British Government of India.

Colonel Pearse may be considered as the first professionally educated Artillery Officer who entered the Honorable Company's Service ; and we may well say, without detracting from the merits of his successors, that few, if any, have been his equals in professional science, and in that laudable and never to be too highly prized ardour, with which he devoted himself to the important duties of his command.

The state of the corps and its equipment, when Colonel Pearse came into the command, may be judged of from the following extracts from letters to General Desaguliers and Mr. Müller, 1775 :—

“When I first came into the command of the corps, I was astonished at the ignorance of all who composed it. It was a common practice to make any midshipman, who was discontented with the India ships, an officer of Artillery, from a strange idea, that a knowledge of navigation would perfect an officer of that corps in the knowledge of Artillery. They were almost all of this class ; and their ideas consonant with the elegant Military education which they had received. But, thank God, I have got rid of all of them but seven. I have compelled all officers to perform laboratory work at the annual practice.”

And to General Desaguliers, in 1772, he writes :—

“When I was at practice in 1770, the fuzes burnt from 19 to 48 seconds, though of the same nature. The portfires were continually going out. The tubes would not burn. The powder was infamous. The cartridges were made conical, and, if it was necessary to prime with loose powder, a great quantity was required to fill the vacant cavity round the cartridge. The carriages flew into pieces with common firing in a week.

“All this I represented, but my representation was quashed, the contractor still makes the carriages, the laboratory is still in the same hands, and I have no more to do with it than his Holiness at Rome.

“Now I have got all the laboratory implements with me at practice, and I am going to teach the officers what they never saw.”

Innumerable quotations from Colonel Pearse's letters might be given as arguments of the constant attention which he gave to the duties of his profession, and of the exertions which he made to advance the character and improve the abilities of the corps ; suffice it to say, that during the whole period of his service these exertions were unremitting, and the success of them will be borne witness to in the succeeding pages of this memoir. As several interesting and entertaining letters appear amongst Colonel Pearse's MSS., dated in the beginning of 1769, we shall retrograde a little in order to indulge the reader's curiosity.

Colonel Pearse, soon after his arrival, was ordered up to Allahabad, which, with Chunar, had been taken from the Mahrattas, by the Army under Major Stibbert in 1765 ; here he remained until July 1769.

At this period of Colonel Pearse's service, the Madras Army was in the field under a very able officer, a Colonel Smith, against the combined armies of Hyder Alli and the Nizam. In December 1768, an action was fought in which the English Commander defeated the enemy. The Nizam, after this defeat, separated his troops from Hyder Alli, and concluded a peace, and a defensive alliance with the English. The Madras Government, presuming upon the late success, and the defection of the Nizam, and under an idea of bringing the operations of the Army immediately under their control, the Council took the ill-judged determination of sending two of their members under the title of *Field Deputies* to join the Army, and Colonel Smith was directed not to undertake any operation without their concurrence ; in fact, they were to direct all operations. Disgust in the mind of the successful soldier was the natural consequence of such a proceeding ; the operations of the Army were without energy or effect ; and disaffection on the part of the Army, and dissatisfaction on the part of the Government followed. Colonel Smith either resigned his command from disgust, or was recalled by the Madras Council ; and the consequences were that the Army met with a series of disasters after his departure. A letter from Colonel Pearse, at this time, to an old Woolwich friend, throws some light upon the circumstances and the state of affairs in Bengal.

Allahabad, February 23rd, 1769.

"Our affairs in the court seem to be in a disagreeable situation. Hyder Alli understands the art of war rather too well for them. Whilst Smith was with the Army, he drove the enemy before him ; but he was plagued with Field Deputies, and had received positive orders to march into the enemy's country, which abounds in woods and morasses. He foresaw the difficulties of the enterprise, and rather than risk everything, he resigned his commission and went to Madras, where the Field Deputies soon followed, to answer for

their conduct. The command was given to Colonel Wood, who, obeying the orders of the Deputies, marched into the country. The enemy drove off all the cattle and provisions, and retreated everywhere before him; he pursued, when famine began to make it necessary to think of returning: this was what Hyder wanted; he now pursued in his turn, continually beating and harassing the detachments of the Army, till at length he took away all their ammunition and, I believe, Artillery, though it is not asserted, as everything is kept as secret as possible. The command was then given to Lang, whose rank I do not know. A detachment in a wood, being attacked were defeated; 140 Europeans, 6 pieces of cannon, and 1,500 sepoys were taken prisoners. The Governor and Council, seeing that affairs began to assume a very unpleasant appearance, desired Colonel Smith to return to the command. He at first refused, nor would he go till he was sent without Field Deputies, and with full powers. Hyder Alli has also taken a Fort W—, with 250 Europeans, 10 pieces of cannon, ammunition, etc., for 6 months, and 1,500 sepoys. It was done in the following manner: Hyder summoned Captain Norton, commanding the Fort to surrender, and on the back of the summons he sent an invitation to the Captain to come and visit him at his tent. Captain Norton being a very polite man, went, was seized, and, with a drawn sword over his head, was desired to write to the next officer in the post to surrender, which he was dastard enough to do; and the other, like a fool, obeyed. The Roman centurions would have set a better example. Assistance has been asked from Bengal, in men, ammunitions, and money; and it is said the remainder of the first Brigade will go.

“The situation of our affairs here does not seem to be much better, although at peace. The French had shipped off a great deal of money; an order was issued forbidding that any should be sent off from the country. The Nabob of Bengal, or Patna, I do not know which, though I believe the former, ordered his peons to surround Chandernagore till it should be re-landed. The French fired on them from the ship, by which many were killed and wounded; the consequence was the destruction of the town. The Nabob's people pulled down the houses and laid everything in ruins. Monsieur Chevalier wrote to the Governor of Fort William, desiring that the neutrality which subsisted between the two nations might continue (for he was determined to march against the Nabob), and that the ship might not be molested. He was answered, that if

she attempted to pass, she would be fired on by the guns of the Fort. The Nabob having demanded our assistance, the ship was afterwards seized, but I hear since that she is gone. The Nabob has ordered all the French down; trade is entirely stopped, which may perhaps end in trouble. The King left us lately; he took with him all his people, and said that he was going to Phaizabad on a visit; but the true reason of his departure must be discovered in time.

"Money is so scarce that we have none to lend to Madras. Our sepoys have only just got their pay for December: in short, they begin to desert. If troops go to the coast, I am resolved to go with them, if I can, that I may assist at the siege of Madras (which is expected), or be present at its relief."

The summary of news and events long since passed by, as given in the following extract from a letter to Lieutenant Mayaffre, an old Woolwich friend, then in the corps, is entertaining:—

"The news just received is, that the King of Prussia and the Russians have joined to attack the Grand Seigneur, who has marched to Adrianople with 60,000 men. Princess Louisa Ann, George's sister, is dead; the Queen of France is the same. Wilks is sentenced to pay £500 fine for re-publishing No. 45, and to suffer 10 months' imprisonment. He is fined £1,000 and is sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment for publishing an *Essay on Woman*; he has appealed to Parliament for redress. Lord Bute is dying. Wilks gives £2,000 security for good behaviour for 7 years. No. 45 is considered as the standard of rebellion, and the printers, sellers, etc., to be tried next sessions. Wilks, the East India Company, and a famine seem to be equally talked of and dreaded in England. Rigby is appointed Paymaster-General, and Lord somebody has got his appointment in Ireland. The King of Denmark was expected in England. Lord Boston was to conduct him. Corsica is ceded to France; and the King of France adds "King of Corsica" to his other titles. There is an elegant bridge thrown across the Ganges for the King, who is returned from his visit to Phaizabad."

If the manners of the times are not altogether improved, the following piece of satire may be useful. Colonel Pearse concludes his letter thus:—

"D—has been interrupting me by talking nonsense, such as the boobies who now come out employ their time in. 'Live and be merry' is their theme: on which they write, talk, and follow it as closely as they can. To be a gentleman, you must learn

to drink by all means : a man is honest in proportion to the number of bottles he can drink : keep a dozen dogs, but in particular if you have not the least use for them, and hate shooting and hunting. Four horses may barely serve ; but if you have eight, and seven of them are too vicious for the syce to feed them, it will be much better.

“ By all means do not let the horses be paid for ; and have a palanquin* covered with silver trappings ; get 10,000 rupees in debt, but 20,000 would make you an honest man—especially if you are convinced that you will never have power to pay. Endeavour to forget whatever you have learned—ridicule learning of all sorts—despise all military knowledge—call duty a bore—encourage your men to laugh at your orders—obey such as you like—make a joke of your commanding officer for giving those commands you do not like, and, if you obey them, let it be so as to convince all your men that it is merely to serve yourself. These few rules will make you a gentleman and an officer, and it is the first lesson which young men take when they arrive in this country ; and, as I am your sincere friend, I sincerely recommend it to your careful attention.”

In July 1769, Colonel Pearse (then Major) was ordered to proceed by water to the Presidency, in command of two Brigades of Artillery. The boats, both for passengers and baggage, appear to have been as bad as they now are. The detachment met with many severe losses : several budgerows and baggage boats being lost in bad weather. The 1st August, the detachment reached Berhampore and was ordered to halt, the services of the detachment not being required. Major Kindersley was at this time promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, notwithstanding a representation of the supersession was before the Court of Directors for their final decision. Major Pearse, of course, considered Major Kindersley's promotion as a still further grievance to him ; and he writes to Brigadier-General Smith, commanding the Bengal Army, to forward his views by getting him transferred to the Infantry : having given up all hopes of promotion in the Artillery :—

“ The occurrences of the last month have informed me that Major Kindersley was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel on the 20th, and is to rank from the 8th November 1768. This, Sir, is the cause of my uneasiness ; not because that gentleman has got that rank, but because that rank to which I aspired is not vacant and not to be disposed of, but is filled up, and as far as man can judge, likely to continue so for many years, and because I am thereby

* Colonel Pearse mentions 1,500 rupees as no uncommon price for a palanquin in his time !

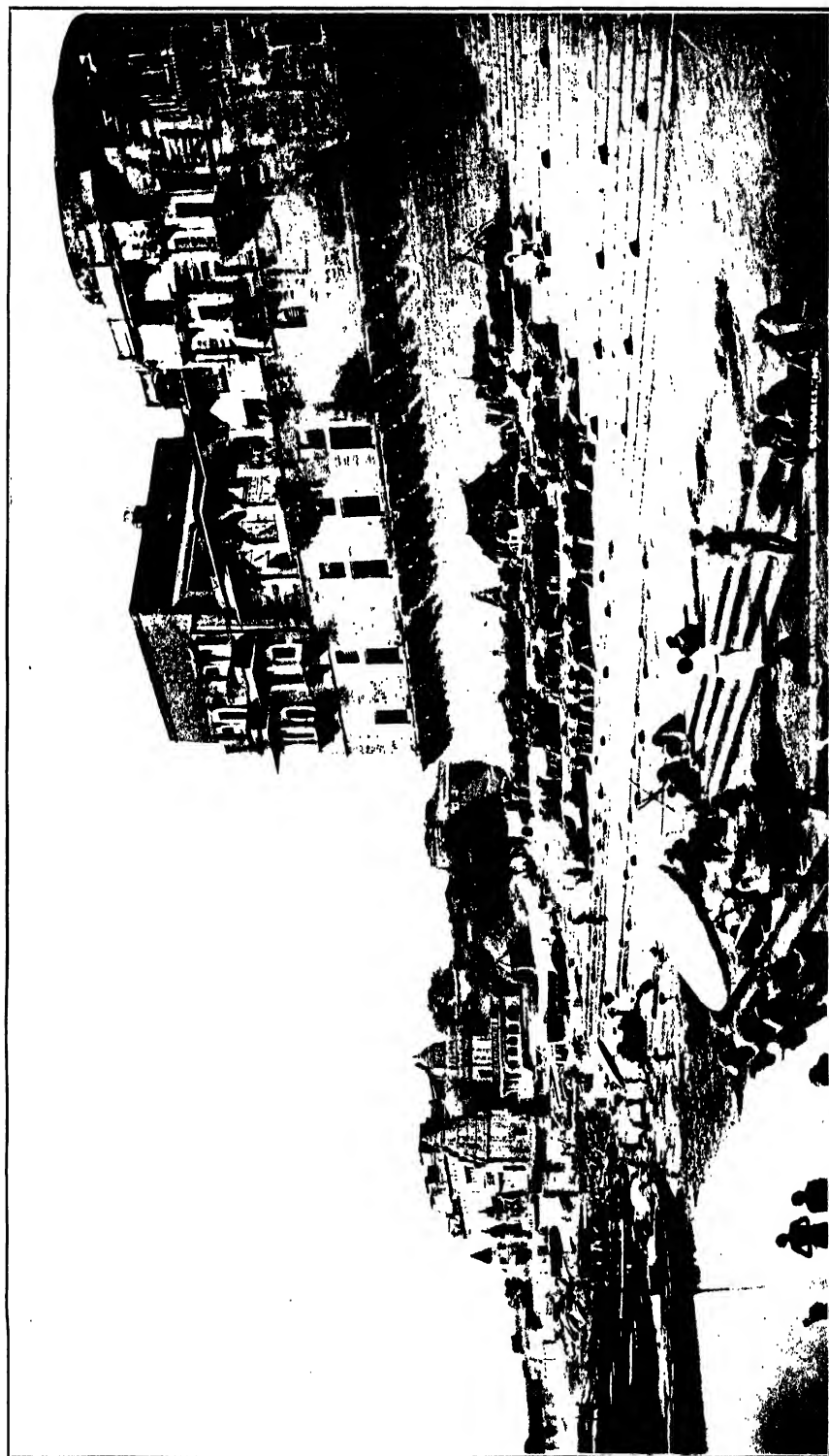
cut off any chance of obtaining the next rank, and consequently must expect to be superseded by officers at present below me.

"The Infantry points out a very different prospect: assures those who are happy enough to be in it, that they will arrive at rank, by which they may be sure to secure a competency, or at least something sufficient to make their latter days not burthensome to themselves or their friends; and though the chief command of the Artillery may promise as fair a chance of obtaining a competency, yet I can truly assert that I know it not, and that command is less an object of my wishes than a removal from the corps; and happy should I think myself could I obtain a removal from the Artillery to the Infantry, with the rank I have."

The orders of the Court of Directors were, however, positive that no removals from the Artillery to the Infantry should take place. Fortunately for Colonel Pearse, he was not long kept out of that command which he was so justly entitled to, and for which he was so well qualified. On the 28th day of October, 1769, a letter from General Smith to Colonel Pearse communicated the intelligence of the death of Major Kindersley, on the 24th of the month; and General Smith adds:—"The Governor and Council have taken your case into consideration, and I have the pleasure to congratulate you on being this day promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and Commandant of the Artillery, till the pleasure of the Honourable Court of Directors is known."

In the latter part of 1770, Colonel Pearse was called upon to attend Sir Robert Barker, Commander-in-Chief, on his tour of inspection to the Upper Provinces; he has the Commandant of Artillery following him, for the purpose of proceeding to the different advance stations in the field, and to survey the Artillery and stores. After having completed this arduous duty, Colonel Pearse began his return to Fort William and visited Benares with Sir Robert Barker in March 1771. There he had an opportunity of examining the observatory, of which he gives the following interesting description in a letter to General Desaguliers:—

- "The principal curiosity here is the observatory, built by Mawnsing, the son of Jysing, about 200 years ago; there is an exceedingly good mural arch cut upon a fine plaister of chunam, so fine and smooth, that it has the appearance of marble; and though it is certainly very old, it still is perfect, but the index is wanting; that is a loss which could very easily be supplied by a person who has a taste for these studies; for the centres are left in the wall.
- "There are two ring dials; the large one is curious: the radius of the stone arch is 9 feet 8 inches; the gnomon is 4 feet 6 inches thick,



RAJAH JAI NUNG'S OBSERVATORY AT BENARES.
(Photo by Messrs. Bourne & Shepherd.)

and its slant side about 40 feet long : there are steps in the gnomon by which you ascend to the top of it. By the measure of the two gnomons, I find they stand in latitude $25^{\circ} 20'$ N. There are likewise two small inclined dials, in which the gnomon is perpendicular to the plane of the stone on which the degrees are marked. Lastly, there is an instrument which I do not understand, the following is a description of it :—

" *A*, *b* are circular walls ; *a* is 24 inches thick, and near 16 feet radius ; *b* is concentric with *a*, 18 inches thick, and between 12 and 13 feet radius. *C* is a cylinder of stone, its centre is the centre of the walls. *B* and *c* are of equal height, *viz.*, 4 feet 2 inches ; the outward wall is 8 feet 4 inches. The tops of these walls are horizontal, and are very nicely divided into degrees, and sub-divided into arches of $6'$. At the cardinal points on the top of the wall *a*, there are two iron pins, from which I conjecture there has been an instrument to fix upon the wall, though I do not know for what purpose or of what kind.

" Lastly the second, for I had forgotten an instrument for taking the declension of the sun, etc., which consists of a circle of iron, covered with brass, an axis of the same materials, and an index with sights. This axis, which is a diameter of a circle, and consequently in the plane of it, moves on pivots fixed in the walls, which support it and is parallel to the axis of the earth. The divisions are very much inferior to those on the stone."

Colonel Pearse, instead of returning to the Presidency, was, however, called upon by Sir Robert Barker to proceed to join a detachment of the Army in camp, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Grant, in order to be president of a Court Martial on a Lieutenant Osborne. Colonel Pearse accordingly proceeded to the camp, and the detachment marched to Mongheer, where the Court Martial commenced its proceedings in May 1771, on various charges for crimes committed by Lieutenant Osborne during a temporary suspension from service. The proceedings were protracted to an unusual length by Lieutenant Osborne disputing the power of the Court to try him ; because, when he committed the actions for which the charges were sent against him, he considered himself as being under suspension, and not under military authority ; and when his protest was unanimously invalidated by the Court, he objected to not less than ten of the Members of the Court, eight of whom he called on as witnesses. After various delays and difficulties, in which the conduct of Colonel Pearse and his knowledge of Military law showed how fitly he had been selected to be president of the Court Martial, the proceedings which had taken up four months, were closed about the end of September 1771, and

in the early part of December following, Colonel Pearse proceeded to Fort William.

In a letter to General Pattison, 23rd March, 1772, Colonel Pearse gives an interesting sketch of the state of affairs at this important crisis, and of the approaching entrance of Mr. Hastings into the Government.

"The King of Delhi has thrown himself into the hands of the Mahrattas ; he, of himself, is of but little consequence, because he is not remarkably clever, nor active ; but his name gives a sanction to the incursions of the Mahrattas, and they and our other good friends, being excited and assisted by the French, will most likely involve us in a ruinous war. I thank God, by the late changes in our Government, we are likely to have a very clever Council. Mr. Hastings' abilities are known, so that if we are to be troubled, we shall be better steered than we have been.

"The French Settlement swarms with Europeans ; and lately they have entertained a great many natives as lascars, who are all gone in the ships to Mauritius, where I dare say they will be thoroughly disciplined, and, having once removed from home, they will not be likely to desert on orders to march here or there. Thus everything they do carries the face of some deep design. Our Council has had so many French connections and so many intermarriages, that the late Governor looked upon the French as friends, and they almost rode us, out of pure regard. Time will show what the present set will do. I think they suspect something ; for since Hastings' arrival the 3rd Brigade has marched down and will in a day or two encamp opposite Chandernagore. Next month is to give Hastings the chair : swiftly may the minutes fly and quickly may the hour come ! They say, and I firmly believe it, that the present Governor is a man of the most amiable and angelic private character ; may I ever be governed by men who have some resolution in their stations. My sentiment is that a good Governor may be of a bad private character ; and a man of the best private character may be a bad Governor ; because the head is concerned, and the heart should be full of public virtue."

In the year 1770 a dreadful famine visited the Company's Provinces in Bengal ; and one-third of the population was computed to have perished. During the preceding year, the rains had been partial ; the Company's Government was not popular, and cultivation had been neglected. When grain began to be scarce, an impolitic proceeding of Government, in consequence,

was attended with the most fatal effects. Colonel Pearse thus introduces the circumstances in a letter to General Pattison, 1772 :—

“ The pernicious system of supervisors was his (Mr. Cartier's). The event has proved that I, and many others, judged rightly of it. That the famine was more artificial than real must be evident from these circumstances ; *viz.*, at Buxar the river is a cannon shot wide for a 3-Pr. Buxar is in our district : the country opposite is part of Sujah-ul-Dowlah's dominion, a fief held by the son of Bulwan Sing : his country abounded with plenty when we were in the utmost distress ; and on his shores were well supplied villages, when thousands starved at Buxar. He kept his country so because he would not allow of that exportation which was desired to be made. Had this plentiful country been in our hands, and subject to an English potentate (supervisor), the whole produce would have been seized and either sold or exported. Within every district every man is obliged to offer the produce of his land to the supervisor at his price. Without leave of this tyrant there is not a man who dares to buy or dares to sell, as I know, by experience ; even to fowls, rice, everything.

“ In that country there hardly is a square mile uncultivated, and it everywhere swarms with inhabitants. In our's, cottages are hardly to be found—whole villages are deserted—the country is waste. The men, who had influence, have not enough now to command respect as gentlemen ; their riches are daily decreasing ; or those who will not submit to waste their substance daily flee from this country : so that in a little time we shall have land enough and not be able to get food from it. When God gave rain, and plenty was likely to follow, and the rice was cut, and grain begun to be sold, then and immediately the old rice, which before had been selling at 3 or 3½ seers for the rupee, fell down to 8, and then to 10 or 12 ; where could it come from ? for the new straw did not produce old rice, but new.

“ That the Native Government would have made a scarcity by the same means is certain, provided we had not been in power ; but had the country been in its former state, and scarcity had been occasioned, we, by our power, would have opened the magazines and saved the multitude. But when the tyranny was in our own hands—when we alone profitted by the miseries of others ; we could not find it in our hearts to do good, because our purse must have been lighter. Had every man been free to sell, and had been protected by us from oppression of the Native Government,

every man who had a surplus would have carried it to the market for a better price ; but as the matter was, each man concealed as much as he could, and what was not concealed, he was compelled to sell to those who could and did lock it up to retail to the destruction of others. The very orders given at the Darbar, to buy up all the grain that could be got, and send it to Moorshedabad, were the destruction of this country ; for they were obeyed. The inhabitants could get no food in the country ; they fled to the city after grain ; but the grain was too well secured for them to get a mouthful, and the unfortunate people died by thousands. The Governor erred from want of judgment and bad counsel ; he did not share in the horrid plunder ; he is a man of good character and amiable in the extreme ; but there never was a Governor less capable, less active, less resolute. Much I fear the distress of the country is beyond even Mr. Hastings' abilities to restore."

To General Desaguliers.

Our incidious friends, the French, have been very active. They have persuaded the King to leave us, and he has done it, and say it is his own caprice. The proofs are strong against the supposition ; for the King never spoke publicly on the subject till just before he went. It was not then known that our Ministry had patched up a convention, and that we daily expected a French war. We have since had certain advices that the French had collected a great force at Mauritius ; and that they intend to attack us here is beyond dispute, seeing that they sold off their effects, and sent to Mauritius all the Bengal pilots. Nay, we now know that there is still a great force at Mauritius, and the King is certainly in motion. His going was nicely timed, and by the message he has sent us, it is evident that he does not mean to assist us because he has demanded the provinces from us. Let this be weighed—what must be the conclusion ? That it is the act of the French, and that the King and Mahrattas are in league with them against us. That Sujah-ul-Dowlah is an enemy in his heart, we know well—that he is much inclined to the French is certain. He has been long aiming, and is now in readiness to take what side he pleases. It is said his troops have mutinied for want of pay : these are only his sepoy, and he has said he will never fight us with infantry, but with horse distress and ravage us. He buys horses wherever he can, and at any price. This shows that he does not

want money, and the preparation shows what he intends. Yet our Governor looks upon him as a fast friend, because he refused to go to Delhi, and join the King, and says he will oppose the Mahrattas.

To oppose us, he must assemble forces, horses, etc. We too well know that where there is a good understanding, the grimace of quarrelling is easily put on. When the King was going, he and Sujah quarrelled. Sujah invited him to dinner; the King accepted the invitation, and the entertainment was prepared. The King then refused to go for fear of being poisoned. Sujah observed that, if His Majesty was so suspicious, even when he had the English Army close at hand to punish him, that he would have greater reason when he would be absent from such friends. What a farce? Sujah with a dagger, waiting for the opportunity of stabbing us, pretends friendship and a good opinion to lull us into security; and we like fools swallow the bait. Now Sujah kept up the farce by pretending to arm against the King; but he lets his infantry mutiny for want of pay, that he may use the money for arming horse and filling his treasury. Our treasury is empty enough. Ten thousand horse would easily cut off our collection of revenues, and this Sujah knows; and we are all well acquainted that without money our sepoy will not stay: for, as it is they desert by hundreds if they are ordered to march either up or down the country. I wish time may prove I am deceiving myself, and that I have erred in my opinion."

Colonel Pearse had a severe attack of illness this year, and was obliged to go to Madras for change of air. He sailed from Bengal on the 30th November. This trip restored him to his usual health. Of the climate of Calcutta, which we trust has improved of late years, he thus speaks in writing to his uncle, Admiral Mann:—

"The air of Calcutta is in summer like to a hot steam-room: and in winter like a cold steam house. All the air is in every season full of moisture and of saltpetre. Do not wonder that it has acted upon my body."

Early in March, however, Colonel Pearse returned to Fort William he and thus writes to General Pattison:—

29th March.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I wrote to you from Madras by the *Triton*. I was then mending. Soon after, I heard all Bengal was in an uproar; and I set out by the

very first conveyance to get back to partake of the general confusion. I arrived on the 8th instant ; but where to find the confusion I know not. The Mahrattas are scampering about ; but I believe there will not be a drop of blood spilt ; nevertheless a body of our forces is marched to support Sujah-ul-Dowlah and the Rohillas against the Mahrattas. This is necessary to keep them, our best allies, firm in our interest : for otherwise, they might take part against us by joining the Mahrattas. I have received orders to proceed to army, and shall set off in two or three days to travel about 1,000 miles on men's shoulders, which journey I hope to finish by the 1st of May.

Letter to Admiral Mann.

Fort William, 29th December, 1773.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"After traversing Hindoostan to overtake the Army at Ramgaut, and being disappointed by hearing of their march back, in consequence of the retreat of the Mahrattas, I went from Allahabad to Phaizabad, the capital of Sujah-ul-Dowlah's dominions, to meet the General. There my dear friend Moore was taken ill of a disorder, which, unhappily for me, ended his days, after he had lingered from July to October. Thus was I deprived of a friend whom I could trust, which is the greatest blessing a man can have in Hindoostan. He died of the liver ; which was the disorder I labored under last year. I myself was taken very ill at Sultanpore in August, and again in September, at Chunarghur. I do not wonder at it. Moore and myself travelled post through the violent heats, and were afterwards in tents during the whole of the rains."

In another letter he says :—

"When I left Calcutta, our army was encamped at Ramgaut, which is about 50 miles from Delhi on the eastern side of the Ganges, and about 150 from the cataract, called the Cow's Mouth. It is the source of the Ganges : for there the stream first takes this name and there is the sanctum sanctorum of the Hindoos. But before I had reached Allahabad, the Mahrattas had retreated and our army was on its march back. A few shots were exchanged across the Ganges. Two or three asses, a lame horse, and, I believe, an old tree were hurt ; and the cords of the tent of the Commander-in-Chief were in danger. Thus ended the glorious campaign, without my assistance ; but it had all the effect of a bloody one : for the enemy found we were in earnest ; and supposing they were not capable of coping with our forces, they

returned and left all their conquests (if the country they overran deserves to be called so) to those who chose to take them. The heat made it advisable for our troops to do the same: and, on the 1st July, I found them in huts, called cantonments, near Sultanpore, which is a town on the banks of the Goompotre—a small river, confined in most parts within very steep banks of hard stony clay.

"This place is about 25 coss from Phaizabad (or Oude), formerly a small village near Oude, and a garden of the Nawab's, where he had a bungalow (*i.e.*, a house built of bamboos, and straw, and mats lined with striped linen, or richest silks) which still retains, amongst the country people, the name of Oude bungalow. This is the residence and capital of Sujah-ul-Dowlah. Sultanpore was once a place of some note; it is now a heap of rubbish."

The attack on the Rohillas took place this year; an event which will be an indelible stain in the records of the British Government of India, by which the liberties of an unoffending state were unjustifiably invaded, their country desolated, and the blood of the peaceable inhabitants spilt to satisfy the mercenary views of an insidious ally. Neither prudence, nor necessity justified this act; and humanity shrinks from the recollection of it.

There is not a darker stain in the Government of Hastings, not even the fatal persecution of the unfortunate Nuncomar; even Colonel Champion, who commanded the English force, in his despatches to Government, expresses his indignation at the atrocities his Army was witness to, which were committed by Sujah-ul-Dowlah and his troops. Colonel Pearse mentions the circumstances in these terms: "I was not permitted to go into the field; so I missed the famous Rohilla fight on St. George's day, and had not a share of Colonel Champion's honors."

And to General Pattison he thus writes, with a true soldier's feeling:—

"Here has been a campaign against the poor Rohillas, an independent people, bordering on the dominions of our ally, the infamous Sujah-ul-Dowlah. A battle was fought on St. George's day: in Europe it would have been called a cannonade; for there was not a musket fired by orders, the distance being too great. When the Rohillas retired, Sujah-ul-Dowlah's brave horse, which, whilst danger to be apprehended, courageously guarded the rear, undauntedly moved up, and heroically cut down the running women, children, and unarmed multitude. However, the Rohilla chief, the noble Hafiz Rhamat Khawn, died like a soldier in the field; fighting in the noblest cause, the defence of his country and its liberties. A cannon shot deprived the hero of his life, and left his body to be insulted by the cruel, dastardly, wretched

Sujah-ul-Dowlah, who, acting in character, caused the head to be brought before him, and then, like a true coward, insulted by pulling it by the whiskers and loading it with other marks of ignominy. My consolation in not being with the Army was, that the war was un-British. Britons, the most tenacious of their own liberties, were joining their powerful arms to conquer a free people, who neither had offended them, nor could offend : so remote, their country was unknown—so little undesirous of quarrelling with their neighbours, that all their wish was to preserve their own peace. The only favor they asked was, that we would not draw our swords against them, but leave them to maintain their laws against the cruel invaders of their liberties. But alas ! we heard them not ; we fought and conquered ; and a peace is now concluded, the particulars of which are such profound secrets, that I would not for the world attempt to dive into them.

" I stopped at Allahabad, because the Army was on its return. Whilst I remained there, Mr. Laurel, a member of the Council, arrived, and took possession of Korah and Allahabad for the Company, and sat at the Cutcherry. The next day I went off to Phaizabad, where the General was. About the middle of July, he left that place to go to Benares to meet the Governor, who was coming upon a visit and business to meet the Vizier.

" The country was entirely under water : the rains incessant ; the whole, of course, very uncomfortable, especially to travellers. I followed the General to Benares, and should have accompanied him, but I was stopped by a fever. The Governor had arrived some days before I did, and the ceremonious meeting was over here. A treaty, by which Allahabad and Korah were conceded to Sujah-ul-Dowlah for certain considerations, which you know better in England than I do. However, I was told 20 lacs down and 50 in three payments. Mineer-ul-Dowlah, who was Viceroy of these provinces, died at a very great age, soon after the Governor, etc., left Benares : it is said of vexation and grief ; but I believe age to have had a much greater share. Thus I happened to be present at some very interesting transactions, which may possibly afford conversation at home. I shall not make any remarks. It suffices that I relate what I saw and know."

Colonel Pearse afterwards went to Chunarghur, to survey the stores and garrison and then returned to Fort William. Sir Robert Barker, about this time, resigned the Commander-in-Chiefship and went home ; and was succeeded by Colonel Chapman, who also resigned on the 18th January, 1774.

and went to Europe. He was succeeded by Colonel Champion in the Command of the Army.

(*To be continued.*)

[EDITOR'S NOTE.—For the famine of 1770 the reader will consult Sir W. Hunter's *Annals of Rural Bengal*, and against the harsh, not to say violent, criticism of the Rohilla War he will set Sir John Strachey's *Hastings and the Rohilla War*.]



AN
ACCOUNT OF THE LOSS
OF THE
“GROSVENOR” INDIAMAN,

COMMANDED BY

CAPT. *John Coxon*

On the 4th August 1782 (inferred from the Portuguese Description of the *Coast* of AFRICA to have happened between 28° and 29° S.)

with

A *RELATION* OF THE *EVENTS*

WHICH BEFEL

THOSE *Survivors* WHO HAVE REACHED ENGLAND,

vis :

ROBERT PRICE,
THOMAS LEWIS,
JOHN WARMINGTON,
AND
BARNEY LAREY.

BEING THE REPORT GIVEN IN TO THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

BY

ALEXANDER DALRYMPLE, ESQ.

PUBLISHED WITH THE APPROBATION

OF THE

COURT OF DIRECTORS.

A NEW EDITION. LONDON, 1785.

PRINTED FOR J. SEWELL, CORNHILL, AND J. DEBRETT, OPPOSITE *Burlington House, Piccadilly.*

The Loss of the "Grosvenor."*

ADVERTISEMENT.

August 14, 1783.



THE following relation of the loss of the *Grosvenor*, and of the events which befel those survivors who have reached England, is the result of my examination of Robert Price, Thomas Lewis, John Warmington, and Richard Larey, at the desire of Sir Henry Fletcher, the present Chairman of the East India Company.

I took, in presence of Captain Burnet Abercromby, the examination of Price separately, and of Warmington and Larey together; Lewis I examined myself. After taking notes of Price's report, these notes were read to him and he was desired to correct any mistakes that might have been made; he did so in some circumstances, and in one particularly, which gave me a strong impression of his precision. The note stated "that the natives had but one shoe and made great springs in hunting." On reading the notes to the boy he remarked, that "the shoe he had seen, but that their making great springs he had been told by the Dutch." His relation is marked with inverted commas, and the initials to the paragraphs distinguish the other authorities, where they all agreed in essentials. I have omitted the signature, when cross-questioned they nowhere expressly differed from the boy.

I have not intentionally omitted any of his ideas or impressions, nor have I added any of my own: it however gives me much satisfaction to see so many efforts of generosity and mutual assistance; perhaps in this there may be some tincture from favourite opinions, as I cannot believe the world collectively half so bad as it is supposed by some, though I am ready to admit the *depravity*, of such individuals, *as great*, as their own imagination can conceive the corruption of the whole to be.

After I had reduced the different reports to one relation, I read the whole over before Captain Abercromby, in presence of the four persons, desiring they

* Spelling and Punctuation according to the original pamphlet. For the special Calcutta interest see *BENGAL: PAST & PRESENT*, Vol. II, p. 241. At the Indian Record Department may be seen the account of the wreck sworn to by De Larso, Humberley, Hynes, Feancon. It varies but little from this account.—W. K. F.

would point out any mistake I might have made : they did so in a few instances, and added considerable elucidations, of which I have profited, and I afterwards read over to the boy, by himself, everything taken from his relation.

The dates must not be considered as precise. Here the boy totally fails me, after separating from the Captain and ladies ; till that event, their accounts agree nearly in time : the boy will not even give a conjecture of dates after, and the others do not pretend to be exact, and the different events are contradictory in time.

Lewis reports that the Dutch distinguish four people beyond the Hottentots.

First, the *Caffrees* with whom he lived, separated from the Hottentots by an uninhabited country. The Caffrees country, as well as the adjacent part of the Hottentot country is sand-downs to the sea, the habitations being at some distance inland.

Second, The *Tambookers* }
Third, The *Mambookers* } between which is an uninhabited country.

The Dutch party sent in quest of the wreck, travelled into the Mambookers country, crossing the uninhabited country, which they first passed after leaving the Captain and the ladies. The Dutch party was stopped by the Mambookers, "who asked if they thought them fools to let them go through their country."

Fourth, the *Abonyas*, where the Dutch suppose the ship was lost.

From *Manoel Mesquita de Perestrello* I find that from *Fishery Point* in 29° 20' S. to the N. Eastward towards *Point St. Lucia* in 28° 30' S. the *Land is cliffs* on the shoar : both to the Northward and Southward of this Space the Coast is *Sand Downs* ; so that the *Grosvenor*, by the description of the coast where she was lost, must have been wrecked between 28° 30' S. and 29° 20' S. I think the *Point* in sight to the Northward of them was *Point St. Lucia*, and that therefore they were lost in nearly 28° 30' S.

It could not possibly be in above 31° S. Latitude, as Lewis and Warmington report ; for they all agree, that melancholly event happened in the *Caffree Country*, terminated on the South by the *Great Visch River*, in about 30° S. Latitude, which they passed in the latter part of their journey from the wreck, in which journey they employed three months before they came to the *Dutch Farms* near *Swatkops River* in about 31° S. Latitude.

In great part, their Calamities seem to have arisen from want of management with the Natives ; I cannot therefore in my own mind doubt, that many lives may yet be preserved amongst the natives, as they treated the individuals that fell singly amongst them, rather with kindness than brutality,

although it was natural to expect that so large a body of Europeans would raise apprehensions ; and fear always produces Hostility.

In this Confidence I cannot omit to recommend, that some small Vessel should be ordered to range the coast, from the Limits of the *Dutch Farms* to Dela Goa ; and, as this is a matter of Humanity in which the State is concerned, I am led to take notice, that the *Swift*, lately arrived from the *West Indies* with *Admiral Pigot*, a small Vessel of 50 Tons and a remarkable fine Sailor, is the fittest Vessel that can be imagined for this Service ; it being necessary for the Vessel to keep close to the shoar, and to be able to make her way off in case of blowing weather. I shall conclude with adding that not only *Humanity* to the *Survivors*, but the *Season* require, that there should be no delay in dispatching this Vessel from England.

The number of persons on board is reported to have been 153 ; but this must certainly be a mistake, for the list sent by *C. Coxen* from Trincomalé only amounts to 139 including children ; Captain Talbot and his suite are not indeed in that list ; but the number which they can specify, including Captain Talbot and two persons who came aboard with him, and 29 lascars, does not exceed 142.

DALRYMPLE.

AN ACCOUNT
OF THE LOSS OF THE
"GROSVENOR"

INDIAMAN

On the 4th of August, 1782.

WITH A RELATION OF THE EVENTS WHICH BEFEL THOSE SURVIVORS WHO
HAVE REACHED ENGLAND, *viz.*, ROBERT PRICE, THOMAS LEWIS,
JOHN WARMINGTON, AND BARNEY LAREY.

On 13th June the ship left *Trincomalé*. They saw *no land* after leaving *Ceylon* till the 4th August when the ship was lost. At 8 P.M., of the 4th August, by sea reckoning, when *Thomas Lewis* left the helm, the course was W.N.W. with a fair wind ; the Ship was then under double reefed topsails and foretop-gallant sail ; maintop-gallant mast being down, their main-mast having been fished ; the mast was faulty before they left *Trincomalé*, and they met a hard gale of wind after leaving that port. It was fished about six days before they ran ashore, and the same day they

fished their mast they saw a small brig, which was the only vessel they saw in their passage after leaving Trincomalé.—*T. L.*

In the middle watch the wind having come to the S.W. the second mate had laid the ship on the starboard track, but the Captain came out and put the ship about again ; he heard the Captain say he was 300 miles from land by his account, which was the headmost.*

The wind having freshened in the S.W. and blowing hard in squalls the Ship was under fore sail, fore stay-sail and mizzen stay-sail, and standing, he believes, about N. W. to N. about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 A.M., he was sent aloft to get down the fore-top-gallant yard, he thought he saw the *land* and came down to tell, but he was sent up again, as they would not believe him ; after the watch was relieved at 4 A.M., having been detained in getting down the top-gallant yard, when he came from aloft about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 he saw the *land* plainly from deck, but the third mate who had relieved the second mate, the chief mate being sick, would not believe it, saying it was only the reflection of the sky, and would not put the Ship's head off to sea ; Wm. Mixon, Quarter-Master, went in and told the Captain, who came out and wore the Ship immediately and in wearing she struck, they had just time to call all hands at once : the wind very soon shifted and came off shoar, when they hoisted up the fore-top sail and endeavoured to back off, but they only twisted the Ship's head off shoar and her stern upon the rocks ; the water gaining upon them very fast, the Ship was soon full of water ; they cut away the masts, the main-mast went presently and drove ashore, the Coffrees clambered upon it to get the iron and copper, the foremast was a pretty while before it went, and they could not get clear of it the Ship's side, she remained with her head off shoar till she went to pieces, the sea breaking without her.

They hoisted out the yawl, but she was stove immediately : they made a raft, but the 7 inch hawser by which it was fast broke, and the raft drove ashoar with four men on it ; *three* were drowned, *viz.*, George Well-born, midshipman ; Simon Griffiths, boatswain's first mate ; Christopher Shear, poulterer ; the fourth Laurence Jonesqua, was saved, and got ashoar.

As soon as the ship was lost, two Lascars swam ashore with the lead line, and made a hawser fast to a large rock on the shoar ; hey did not understand aboard what they said ; but Pandolpho having swam ashore soon after the Lascars, called to them, and they hove the hawser tort. Many of

* The boy, Robert Price, says " whilst he waited at supper, the Captain and Passengers were talking that they should see the *land* to-morrow or next day : the Captain had been looking out with his glass in the afternoon, but he does not know whether he was looking for *land* or what.

the sailors got ashoar by this hawser, and some were drowned in the attempt by the hawser's slackening, *viz.* :—

John Woodward	... Quarter Master.
Thomas Gentils	} Seamen.
Val. Pyers	
John Higgins	
Andrew Nowland	
John Morrison	
Bartholemew West	
Thomas Mayo	
Francis Dogherty	

Joseph Barkini was drowned in swimming ashoar with Pandolpho ; a lad, who came aboard with Captain Talbot, was never seen after the ship struck, and a black man, assistant to the Captain's cook was drowned in the ship ; all the rest of the 15 got ashoar ; he, the boy, Robert Price, was forced off the hawser, and his head dashed against the rock by a violent sea, the cut he received, of which the mark remains, was so bad, that he was not able to help himself, and would have been drowned if Francis De Larso had not taken hold of his hair, and pulled him out of the sea, and then others assisted to draw him up by the arms : this wound made him take less notice of what passed whilst they kept by the wreck.—P.

About noon the ship parted by the forechains, and about 1 P.M. by the main chains. Almost 100 persons were aboard when the ship parted : the ship lay down very much, they got the Ladies out at the starboard quarter gallery, the people standing on the starboard side of the ship, and when she parted the sick sunk down into the sea with them all upon it, and floated into shallow water, when the sailors helped the ladies and children on shore, the body of the wreck breaking off the swell. Captain Talbot of the navy who was a passenger, and some others came ashoar on the fore part of the ship. They made a tent of a new mizzen topsail for the Ladies, etc., on the flattish part of the rock, where they found plenty of fresh water gushing out amongst the rocks.

The ship was lost just to the *northward* of a *rocky point*, where there was a high surf ; the coast was rocky, slanting up, and a top flat with grass, in some places very high, which the natives are accustomed to burn ; beyond the country hilly and woody "a little to the southward of where the ship was cast away, the cliffs were steep almost right up and down, so that there is no passing along the sea-side, a little to the *northward* was a *sandy bite* where most of the things were cast ashoar, ending in a *low blackish point* ; in the *sandy bite* there was a *creek*, into which many things drove, particularly a

cask of wine and one of their sows which was killed against the rocks, the creek was full of large rocks which they passed over at low-water.

"Plenty of timber from the wreck, and the booms and sails were cast ashore, sufficient to have built and fitted several vessels, nor were tools, as adzes, etc., wanting. "Plenty of beef and pork came ashore, but all in pieces ; there was one cask of flour also came ashore, and some of the hogs which the natives killed particularly one boar, who thought himself the king of the place, rutting up the ground : the natives coming to catch him, he turned up his snout and grunted at them, so they were afraid to seize him, but killed him with a lance, and the women and men cut him up.

"Provision was sufficient for about 8 or 9 days, which was as much as they could carry, the ship steward made a distribution of that and what cloaths they could pick up."

It was on Sunday morning the ship was lost, and on Wednesday morning they set out to travel to the CAPE, the Captain saying that they would get there in 16 or 17 days at farthest, but he hoped in 10 days. All their arms were 5 or 6 cutlasses ; plenty of fire arms were cast ashore but no gunpowder.—T. L.

"After the ship struck the natives pointed the *other way*,* not the way they travelled afterwards and said *something*, which they imagined was to tell them that there was a *bay* that way ; he was told by the Dutch, the ship was lost near *Rio la Goa*,† and that there was a great river between :‡ by the distance the party went without reaching the wreck, the Dutch said the ship was lost *nearer La Goa* than any Dutch from the Cape had ever gone by land."

As soon as the ship was lost, the natives, who are all *wolly-headed*, came down to pick up what iron or other metal they could, but they did not seem to regard the bales which were thrown ashore, only slitting them with their lances as they passed.—W. and L.

The natives dress their heads high ** with a hollow in the middle, and stuck into their hair the brass nails, picked up from the trunks cast ashore. They had very little clothing.—W. and L.

"Whilst they remained by the wreck the natives did not offer any violence, but stole what they liked and ran away."

At the end of three days they staid by the wreck, the chief part of it remaining together was the head and cut-water.—W. and L.

* *i.e.*, to the N. E.

† Which we call *Delagoa*, and the French *S'Esprit*, or *Lorenzo-Marques*.

‡ Probably what the natives alluded to, and what the Doddington's crew call *St. Lucia*, and place 28° 14' S. Lat.

** None of them saw anything like the *Tallow Heads* mentioned in the account of this Country published with *Dampier's Voyage*.

When they set out the chief mate was carried being sick ; the 2nd mate led the van, the Captain in the rear and the ladies in the middle, they kept regular watch in their journey.—T. L.

John Bryan, being lame and unable to walk, and Joshua Glover, a fool, staid by the wreck.

As soon as they marched the natives threw stones and hove their lances at them, "they could not get along the sea-side on account of the steep cliffs to the Southward* of them, but they travelled along the top of these cliffs, never far from the coast, and always in sight of the sea, except in passing the hollows, they sometimes found paths of the Coffrees which they travelled along, and in same places were grass, and along the shore some parts were sandy, some parts rocky.

"The day after leaving the wreck, from whence the natives followed them, they fell in with a man *lighter-coloured* than the natives with *straight hair*, they supposed him a *Malayman* (but the Dutch suppose it was a Dutchman named *Trout*), he came up to them, clapping his hands and calling *Engles, Engles* ; * he talked Dutch with John Suffman, Mr. William's servant, and told them that the CAPE was a great way off! and being desired to guide them, said he could not, as he was affraid of being killed if he went into the Christian country : they offered him any money if he could conduct them, he said he did not want *money* but *copper* : they said they would load him with *copper* ; but he would not go. He advised them to go along the *coast* for that *inland* they would meet the *Boschmen Hottentots* who would kill them all : this man was with the natives, but he thinks they were not the same kind of people as those where the ship was lost, because they were taller and not so black, and had their cheeks painted red, with feathers in their heads, he thinks Ostrich feathers.†

"He believes the Malay was a rogue as he shewed the natives where their pockets were.

"The Captain had a stick with a bayonet on it, which the natives snatched away out of his hand, but the Malayman persuaded them to give it back ; the natives with whom the Malay was, came and cut off their buttons.

"The natives always left them at night ; they had but one shoe, made of buffaloe hide, which they wear on the right foot, it has no top leather,

* Thomas Lewis says the Dutch distinguish four different people, *viz.* :

1st. *The Coffrees.* Where he lived.

2nd. *Tambookers* }

3rd. *Mambookers* }

4th. *Abonyas.* Where they suppose the ship was lost.

} Between which there is a track of good country uninhabited.

† In the Doddington's Journal they mention to have seen among the Coffrees a lad about 12 or 14 years of age whom they supposed an European ; the latitude is not mentioned.

except over the toe, and is tied round the ankle with two strings from the heel. The Dutchman, with whom he afterwards remained, told him that they make great springs when they go a hunting." Lewis says they wear one shoe and are very nimble, that he could not run half so fast. They are sometimes out for 3 or 4 days from their hutts, they feed their dogs with what they catch, not eating it themselves, and only bringing home a little on their knob sticks.—T. L.

(10th or 11th August.) About 3 or 4 days after leaving the wreck, the Captain going up a very high hill, took a lance from one of the natives, who endeavoured by signs and entreaty, as his words were supposed, to get it back but to no purpose: there was no village than in sight, but he went away to the village and called the rest who came out with their lances and targets.—T. L.

"The Captain put the Ladies, and those who were unable to do anything upon a rising ground with the baggage, and then attacked the natives and drove them out of the village.—T. L. W. and L.

"The weapons used by the natives were targets made of hides to cover themselves, so that when our people threw stones at them they could never hit them; they had reddish sticks, seemingly dyed with a wooden knob at the end, and lances; but not choosing to loose the iron of the lance, they drew out the lance-staffs and sharpened the end, and threw these staffs at our people: it was one of these they stuck into Mr. Newman's ear, he was stunned and fell down, on which the natives made a noise."

One of the natives, "having fallen down in running away, he was overtook by the boatswain and others," and bruised terribly, but the Captain told them not to kill any.—T. L.

"Afterwards the natives brought sweet potatoes to exchange for the lance-staffs and sticks they had thrown at our people."

They sat down peaceably round and the Captain had some toys which he gave them, and they went away; after stopping about two hours our people proceeded, the natives did not molest them but let them go.—T. L. confirmed by Price.

After this skuffle they never opposed the natives, but let them take what they pleased.—W. and L., etc.

"Having proceeded on, after beating the natives, about 3 or 4 miles further, in the evening the Malay came up with them, he laughed at the dispute that had happened, and being asked which was the right road? said *that* he was going. He had been at the wreck where he had got a load of iron and had on a long gown of the Captain's which he had found there.

"After the Malay had left them, they marched on and met some other natives, from whom they got some sweet potatoes for buttons; and after travelling some way it began to rain a little, whereupon they made a fire of grass and tufts, there being no bushes nigh; and after resting a little they went on and took up their lodgings for the night at some bushes a-top of a hill under a bank, with a running stream of fresh water in the hollow beneath.

(11th or 12th August). "Next day they came to the village where the Malayman's house was, it is by the sea-side; he brought his child to them and asked for a bit of pork for the child, the Captain said he was in great distress, but gave him a little bit for the child."

This Malayman looked at their buttons and called *Zimbe*, "which is copper." The Captain told them to give the natives nothing "because they would think they had more, and want to search them."—T. L. and P.

The officers and passengers would not let the seamen have any parley with the natives, thinking they could manage better with them.—W. and L.

"After leaving the Malayman's village, the natives followed throwing stones; the sailors desired to walk on, thinking the natives would not follow far; they came to a creek which they passed at low water, it was then about noon: they went on till evening, when they found water by the side of a hill: then the Coffrees came down and surrounded them, wanting to take buttons and such like from them, and wanting to search the Ladies: some of the natives kept on the hill, threatening to throw down great stones upon them.

"The sailors advised the Captain to go on, and not to sit still and let all their things be taken from them, but (Lewis says, the doctor being sick) he would not move, and so different people set off without him." The Lascars went first away and the natives followed them and robbed them.—T. L.

"After leaving the Captain, they saw at a distance the Ladies, etc. coming over a hill; that night they came to a salt water river and gathered wood to make a fire; they could not strike a light, but seeing a light on the other side of the river, one of the lascars swam over and lighted a stick at a Coffree hut, when he saw no people, he swam back over the river, with the stick and lighted a fire. Colonel and Mrs. James came up to them; as they had no water, Colonel James advised them to dig in the sand, which they did and got water, the same night the Captain and the ladies came up, and by next morning they all joined again, except Bastiano Nardeen, who had dropped behind being a big man and unable to walk, and the two who remained at the wreck.

"In their way this day they found a tree bearing a sweet berry, with one small hard stone, of which fruit they eat, but they found that it bound them

very much, the berry grows upon the branches, is about the size of a pea ; when ripe it is black, and, before it is ripe, red.

"In the morning, the Ladies waded over the river breast high, being supported by the sailors who carried over the children ; this was the *first river* since they left the ship, it was small, and after they got up the hill on the other side, they saw it almost dry, by the ebbing of the tide." This was about a week after leaving the wreck.

After crossing the river, Lascars and Mrs. Hosea's black maid Betty left them first ; and then some of the people set out, straggling, leaving the Captain and ladies behind. The Captain was not *sick*, but out of heart when they parted, and their provision was not then expended ; they know nothing of the Captain or Ladies since they parted about 10 days after the ship was lost.

"The natives never offered to carry away Mrs. Logie or any other of the Ladies ; nor offered them any injury, except taking their rings or such like."

The following persons were left with—

Captain Coxon	
Mr. Logie	... Chief Mate.
" Beale	... 3rd.
" Harris	... 5th.
5. " Hay	... Purser.
" Nixon	... Surgeon.
Robert Rea	... Boatswain.
John Hunter	... Gunner.
William Mixon	... Quarter-Master.
10. George M'Daniel	... Carpenter's 1st Mate.
James Mauleverer	... " 2nd Mate.
John Edkins	... Caulker.
Wm. Stevens	... Butcher.
Frank Masoon	} Seamen.
15. Domo, Kircanio	
Jos Andrée	
Matthew Bell	
Roque Pandolpho	
John Stevens	
20. John Pope	} Chief Mate's Servant.
Jos. Thomson	
James Vandestein	
John Hill	
Anto Da Cruza	... Captain's Cook.
25. Patrick Fitzgerald	} Discharged soldiers from Madras.
John Hudson	
Col. James.	
Mrs. James.	
Mr. Hosea.	
30. Mrs. Hosea.	
Mrs. Logie.	
Mr. Newman.	

Capt. Walterhouse Adair.			
	Miss Dennis	...	} Children.
35-	„ Wilmot.	...	
	„ Hosea.	...	
	Master Saunders.	...	
	„ Chambers.	...	

BLACK SERVANTS.

	George Sims	...	Mr. Newman's.	
40.	Reynel	...	Master Law's	
	Dow	...	Mr. Hosea's,	
	Betty	...	Mrs. Logie's since arrived at the Cape, says her Mistress sent her away.	
	Sally	..	Mrs. James'.	
	Mary	...	Miss Dennis'.	
45.	Hoakim	...	Mrs. Hosea's.	
	M. Plaideaux de Lisle	A French Officer		} Went <i>inland</i> the same day after they left the Captain.
	J. Rousseau	..	Servant to Col. D'Espinette.	

The same day they parted from the Captain and ladies, they came up again with the Lascars in a bit of a wood.—W. and L.

(About 16th August). The day after they came to a river's mouth, here Thomas Wren was knocked up; Francis Feancon and S. Paro also staid, saying they would swim across; the Lascars also parted from them again. They went up three days along the banks which are very hilly and steep. "Here they were robbed by the natives," and then crossed where its depth was about up to their middle. The French Colonel (D'Espinette) was left before they crossed the river, being quite knocked up; and a couple of hours after they had crossed (about 19th August) Captain Talbot was knocked up: his coxswain wanted to stay with him, but Captain Talbot would not let him, saying, it was of no manner of service; there were no natives with them, but they saw some huts soon after.—"This was a hilly country."—T. L., etc.

(About 24th August). "About 8 or 10 days after leaving the Captain, it was thought they were still too many together to be able to get provisions, and they parted again: the party which set out first consisted of 23 persons,* *viz.* :—

	Robert Price	...	Captains' servant. Then not much above 13 years of age.	} Now in England.
	Barney Larey	...	Landsman.	
	Wm. Thomson	..	Midshipman	.. Dead (Feancon told T. L.)
	Thomas Page	...	Carpenter	... Dead and buried. T. L., W. and L. C
5.	Henry Lillburne	...	Ship's Steward	... Left behind after passing <i>Great V'isch River</i> .
	Master Law	...	Child of 5 or 6 years old..	.. Died 4th November.
	James Thomson	...	Quarter-Master	... Left about 8 or 10 days after entering second <i>inhabited</i> country.
	Thomas Simmonds	...	Do.	.. Dead (Schultz told W.)

* In the enumeration they can only make out 22.

	Robert Auld	... Cooper	..	<i>Dead and buried</i> in the sandy country.
10.	George Reed	... Armourer	...	Went back from <i>Sandog's</i> River to look for Mr. Liliburn, etc.
	George Creighton	.. Caulker's mate	..	Left at <i>Great Visch River</i> .
	Wm. Couch	... Captain's steward	...	<i>Dead and buried</i> at <i>Sandog's</i> River. P. W. and L.
	Lan. Jonesqua	... Boatswain's yeoman	...	<i>Dead</i> (at river Nye (or cK-ly) Feancon told T. L.
	Franco de Larso	...		Gone to <i>Copenhagen</i> in the <i>Lunsvery</i> Left at <i>Cape</i> .
15.	Jeremiah Evans	...	...	Left in first uninhabited country near the inhabited country.
	Lan. McEwen	...	...	Left about 4 days after coming into 2nd inhabited country.
	Edw. Monck	...	...	Left at <i>Great Visch River</i> dead (found by W.)
	John Squires	...	...	Left at <i>Great Visch River</i> dead (found by W.)
	All. Schultz	...	...	Left at <i>Great Visch River</i> dead (found by W.)
20.	Tho. Parker	...	...	Left at <i>Great Visch River</i> dead (found by W.)
	Patrick Burne	...	...	Left at <i>Great Visch River</i> dead (found by W.)
	Isaac (Blair qu.)	...	...	Left at <i>Great Visch River</i> .
The other party consisted of 22 persons * <i>viz.</i> : —				
	John Warmington	... Boatswain's 2nd mate	...	Now in England.
	Thomas Lewis	... Seaman	...	Left at a river in the first uninhabited country. (Hubberly told T. L. first who died.)
	Mr. Shaw	... 2nd Mate	...	Left by Hubberly at the river where Mr. Williams was killed.
	Mr. Trotter	... 4th Do.	..	<i>Dead</i> (Hubberly told T. L. that he was driven into a river and killed by the Coffrees).
5.	Mr. Williams	... Passenger	...	<i>Dead</i> (Hubberly told T. L. that he would not eat after Mr. Williams' death, and died 2 days after.)
	Mr. Taylor	Do.	...	<i>Dead</i> (Hubberly told T. L.) was left by Warmington at a river in first uninhabited country.
	John Suffman	... Servant to Mr. Williams	...	Gone to <i>Copenhagen</i> .
	Wm. Hubberly	... Do. to Mr. Shaw	...	Left at the same river as Mr. Shaw.
	Wm. Ellis	... Servant to Colonel James	...	Left at 3rd river to Eastward of <i>Great Visch River</i> (which is a large river at high water).
10.	Edward Croaker	...	...	Left at the same river as Mr. Shaw.
	James Stockdale	...	...	Gone to <i>Copenhagen</i> .
	John Hynes	...	...	Left in <i>Sandy Country</i> , before they came to <i>Sondag's</i> river.
	Will. Fruel	...	...	Left at the same river as Mr. Shaw.
	Chas. Berry	...	...	Left at the same river as Mr. Shaw.
15.	James Simpson	...	...	Left at the same river as Mr. Shaw.
	R. Fitzgerald	...	...	Left at the same river as Mr. Shaw.
	Jacob Angel	...	...	Left at the same river as Mr. Shaw.
	John Blain	...	...	Left at the same river as Mr. Shaw.

* In the enumeration they make only 20.

John Howes	..	} Seamen.	... Left at same river with Mr. Shaw (Hubberly told T. L. was 2nd who died about 3 days after Shaw.)
20. John Brown	...		... Left at a river.)

Master Law was first carried by William Thomson a midshipman, and then by each of the party in company by turns and when they were knocked up, Mr. Liliburne said he would save the boy's life, or lose his own.

"The first party continued on the sea coast the natives still about them, but dropping off little by little. The natives minded nothing but metal, one of the Coffrees took a watch (Hubberly told him) and then broke the watch with a stone, and picked the pieces out with their lance, and stuck them in their hair: this was up a pretty large salt water river.*

"They met a black Portuguese, rather young than old, in a house by a salt water river near the sea, he had two Coffrees women with him, his house was by itself, but there was a Coffree village [of five huts] near: this Portuguese had no cows, but he gave them three fish which he cooked for them, together with what shell fish they had picked up, and some white roots like potatoes." This was about three days after entering the second inhabited country.—L.

The other party went inland, and were three days out of sight of the sea, they were four days without seeing any inhabitants, though they saw some old huts and many wild beasts, elephants, tigers, etc., being distressed for provisions, they returned to the coast, where they fed on shell fish and fared pretty well when they came up to a dead whale, of which they saw three or four. They did not eat of the first or second, having no knife, but made a shift afterwards to cut it with a spike nail, till Warmington found a knife in a boat upset on the shoar.—W.

In about three weeks or a month, after parting with the Captain and the Ladies, they came into a sandy country, by this time they were separated into small parties.

The party in which Thomas Lewis was consisted of about eleven persons; Hubberly told him Mr. Shaw was the first who died, and in about three days after John Howes died; Lewis came on alone, and came up with the Carpenter, etc., near a deep narrow river; at the end of 49 days, from leaving the ship, according to the Carpenter's account (but Larey says he had lost his knotted stick 10 days before), Captain Talbot's servant Isaac, who had been his coxswain, and Patrick Burn stopped at the river. He swam back and told them to make a catamaran and he would swim it over which he did and brought them across.—T. L.

* River Nye or cK-ly.

Two days after he joined them, the Carpenter, Thomas Page, died and was buried in the sand.—T. L.

Afterwards he came to another river, where he joined several. Here he eat a piece of dead whale which made him sick ; from hence he went back seven days by himself and met James Sims,* John Brown and Edward Croaker ; John Blain was lying dead in a hut : he proposed to go back to the natives ; Brown was not able to come, but he and the other two went back to the river where he had met the Carpenter ; then his companions would go no farther ; he swam across at low water ; next morning he saw two of the natives on the seaside ; they seemed travelling ; they looked at him and pointed to go along with them, but they were going another way, *i.e.*, to the westward ; the same afternoon he saw three girls on the shores, they took him home about 1 or $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the coast ; the men were boiling meat ; they all came round him ; he made signs for something to eat ; they gave him a little milk, but took his muscles [mussels] from him, and afterwards drove him away, throwing stones at him ; he went to another Krawl about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile distant and they gave him some milk ; he stayed there all the night under the trees, and the next morning went to another Krawl, and then came back to the first Krawl and found there Francisco Feancon and S. Paro, who had come through the country, and not along the coast ; they stayed at that Krawl and he went to another about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile from the first Krawl, and stayed with the Coffrees three months, taking care of their calves and gathering wood.

When he had been about three weeks with the Coffrees, William Hubberly, Mr. Shaw's servant, came there ; he told them all his companions were dead : Mr. Williams was driven into a river and killed by the natives throwing stones on him ; Mr. Taylor would eat none after, and in two days died. About 16 or 18 days after Hubberly came, Feancon and Paro left the huts ; after a month's absence Feancon returned and told him that Paro was dead, also Thomson the midshipman. Parker and Burne were dead : the boy, from the information of De Larso, who went in quest of the wreck says that Feancon and Paro had come within three days' journey of the Dutch farms, when they returned Feancon was nine days in the desert without water but his own urine, and then Paro died.

The Hottentots sent by Daniel King from the *Dutch Farms Swartkops*, brought them through the country, and on the 15th January, 1783, 10 or 11 days after setting out from the Krawl, he met at *Sondags River*, the waggons going towards the wreck, with Jeremiah Evans and Francisco De Larso, who had been twenty-eight days from *Landross van Swellendam*, they

* Qu. James Simpson ?

wanted him to have returned with them, but he would not, thinking he had already suffered enough.—T. L.

He, Lewis, stayed at Kat Skyppers house at *Swarthops* two months ; near it is the first house belonging to Christian Feroos, to which John Potose brought the others who had travelled along the coast, and in the neighbourhood is Daniel King's, a Hanoverian, with whom the boy remained.—T. L.

The Dutch and Coffrees are on bad terms, Dan King had all his cattle carried off by them not long ago.—T. L.

The Lascars and Mrs. Hosea's maid left them at first ; Mrs. Logie's maid told him the Captain had left Mr. and Mrs. Logie and Mr. and Mrs. Hosea behind. The Lascars and black maids were left at *Landross van Swellendam*, was ten days at the CAPE, and sailed from thence the 7th May, in the Danish ship the *King of Denmark*.

Captain Miller, the captain of the waggons who went in quest of the wreck, took a slave, who had run away from THE CAPE and made him fast to the waggon, but he got away in the night, he supposes this was the Portuguese.* —T. L.

The Governor of the Cape has sent again in quest of the people ; Dan King goes himself and carries presents of copper, brass and beads for the Coffrees.—T. L.

When the party, with which John Warmington, first came into the *sandy country*, only eight of the party remained together ; they had not then overtaken any of the party in which the boy and Larey were.—W.

Three weeks or a month after entering the *sandy country*, they came to a *salt water river* too deep to wade, at this time only four of the eight remained together, *viz.*, Warmington, Fruel, Fitzgerald and Hynes, but they had overtaken Lillburne with Master Law, Auld the cooper, and Jeremiah Evans, and at this river they came up with the boy, Larey, De Larso, the Armourer, William Couch, Simmons and Schultz, there are three or four small rivers between it and *Great Visch River*.

Having now traced the others, the boy's account of his party will follow without interruption.

"Some of the natives whom they met on the seaside, put a lance and nobby stick into his hand by way of making friends, and took him by the arm, wanting him to go with them, but he began to cry and William Couch, who was his comrade, helping one another ever since the wreck and the others also fell a-crying, whereupon the natives let him go ; this was in the

* The boy says : "De Larso never told him it was the Portuguese they had seen,† there was found with him a gun stolen from one of Daniel King's men."

second inhabited country after leaving the Portuguese, he thinks these were the last Coffrees they saw.

"After coming into the *sandy country* they saw no natives; the *sandy country* is sand hills, so loose that they could not go over them, and only could travel at low water when the sea ebbed and made it hard; they found rocks scattered on the shore in many places, and one rocky part to the sea, which they could only pass at low water; but luckily they came to it at low water.

"At this rocky place they saw some pieces of wood with nails in it, and afterwards a Dutch boat cast on the shoal, Warmington who followed found a knife in this boat, they also saw on the shore an old rotten mast, and not long after they passed the *Great Visch River* they saw a small old top-gallant mast in a *fresh water creek*.

"He learned the name of *that river* and of the others afterwards from De Larso who returned with the Dutch party.

"A little before they came to the *Great Visch River*, which was in sight from a rising ground, they passed a little galley, where they were called to by Paddy Burne, Mr. Lillburne and Thomas Lewis, and Squires were there; the Carpenter then dead and buried at that place.

"*Great Visch River* is very broad at high water" like the sea,* "but narrow at low;" it has flat sands at the mouth and some black rocks on this side,† De Larso was almost drowned by the eddy tide in swimming across, the others passed in catamarans made of rotten wood and stumps of trees brought down by the rivers and thrown up, which were tied with their handkerchiefs and roots that grew on the sand twisted together, they waded and guided the catamarans round the sand banks till they came to the narrow deep part; he, Larey and the Armourer were left behind the first day, their catamarans having gone across the river without them. Couch, Schultz and Simmonds passed over at that time, they staid that night and passed *Great Visch River* next morning; Mr. Lillburne staid to sleep there that night intending to go back to a whale; with him remained Master Law, Warmington, French, Fitzgerald, Hynes and Evans who crossed the river afterwards, and the following who did not cross the river, *viz.*, P. Burne, G. Creighton, J. Squires and Isaac, Captain Talbot's Coxswain, together with one of the Lascars who is arrived at the CAPE; the Lascar said it was a great way to the Cape and that he would go back to look for the natives.

"Those who had gone over the *Great Visch River* found a porpoise left amongst the rocks, Francisco De Larso caught hold of his tail and it splashed him all over, but he at last stuck it with his knife, which he brought with him to *Landross* and gave to Mrs. Logie's maid.

"They continued on, after having stopped at the fresh-water creek where the topgallant mast was seen, till they came to a pond where was fresh water, and there stopped: they went up a steep sandy hill and staid in a fine jungle a-top of the hill, where they made a fire.

"When he and his companions crossed *Great Visch River* they followed the others by their track and called out when they saw the tracks striking up from the shore, when William Couch answered; it was dark, and they joined a-top of the hill.

"After coming up with them they were five or six days before they passed *Boschiemans' river* and afterwards came to a *great bay* in the *sandy country* with *three islands* [they are small, white and round, the furthest about 4 or 5 miles off shoar,] there is not much surf in this bay, *Sondag's river* falls into it.—W. & L.

"Only five of the party remained together when they came to this Bay, *viz.*, De Larso, Larey, William Couch, the Armourer and himself (Robert Price). Here William Couch died: they buried him, and said prayers over him, shook hands, and swore they would never separate till they got into a Christian country. At this Bay they were overtaken by John Hynes and Jeremiah Evans, who told them that Warmington was left behind almost dead, Larey went and brought him back.

"By this time they had found Sand Creepers, which are a kind of Cockles that hide in the sand: so that they had plenty of victuals when joined by Hynes and Evans. The Armourer went back with Evans to look for Mr. Lillburne, Fitzgerald and others, but never returned; losing his life to save his comrades. Evans returned the same night.

"After leaving *Sondag's river* they came to a creek called *Kuga* and then to *Swartkops river*, which is salt water, and from the tops of the hills could see the Islands in the Bay of *Sondag's river*. When he was alone on a sandhill gathering Hottentot figs, De Larso having laid down to sleep under a bush near him, he saw a man, whom at first he took for one of his companions, but on seeing a gun on his shoulder, immediately ran to him as fast as he could, which was not fast, his legs being swelled, and fell down at his feet for joy! and then called to De Larso, who spoke Portuguese.

"Their companions were below by a Whale at the seaside, as they intended to stop three days here, but when they were called, this man, named *John Potose*, carried them to the house of *Christian Feroos* with whom he seemed to be partner. They all remained there three days, and three days more at another house in the neighbourhood belonging to Daniel Konig. Then five were sent to *Landross Van Swellendam*; he, Robert Price, remaining at the second house near *Swartkops river*. From *Landross Van Swellendam*, Warmington and Larey were sent to the CAPE: Hynes remained at *Landross*

and Evans and De Larso came back to *Swartkops*, with 30 or 40 waggons and horses, with tents, and about 100 people under Captain Miller, intended to go to the wreck in quest of more of the people who were saved.

"Evans and De Larso went on with the party; they got within five days' journey of the wreck, but came back, their horses being tired," and the Mambookers opposing them, they left the waggons at the river Nye or cK-ly which is a very large river full of great stones, and has a rapid stream, it is near the *Bamboe Berg* and is fresh water; in their journey from the wreck they were obliged to go up it three days before they could cross, on account of the great stones; the country is inhabited on both sides.

"He (Robert Price) remained near *Swartkops* till the waggons and people returned, they were absent from *Swartkops* at least a month, and had been within a day's journey of where they were robbed, but never went to the wreck, nor had tokens of the Ladies or Captain, except they saw in a Coffree house, a great coat which they thought was the Captain's; in their journey they saw several dead bodies.

"De Larso came from THE CAPE in the same ship with Robert Price, (*viz* Laurwig Captain Stainbeck) and is gone to *Denmark*: in the same ship came also William Hubberly, the second mate's servant and Francisco Feancon who had remained with the Coffrees, and were brought from thence by the Hottentots, at the same time with Lewis, these are also gone to *Denmark*. Evans stayed at THE CAPE intending to be a farmer, but he will soon be home when he hears of peace, as he was very much afraid of being pressed.*

"Although they saw no farms till they came to *Swartkops* there are some beyond it; but none near the sea coast. He remained with *Daniel Konig* at *Swartkops*, three or four months, and used to go a-hunting with them; they set out in the morning and reached *Sondag's river* before night, and there stayed to hunt:—plenty of Elans, white and brown which go in great droves, always with the wind, *Hart-Beesten*, Buffaloes, *etc.*

"He cannot of his knowledge say any one is dead but William Couch. He cannot recollect how long they were from *Swartkops* to *Landross*, they were so happy to get a waggon to ride, that time passed quickly away, and they stayed three days at Captain Miller's.

"The natives make a fire by rubbing sticks somehow. The women are clothed in long skins down from the shoulder to the knee, dressed very soft. To make butter, they put milk in a leather bag and let it get sour, and then tie a string to the bag haul it up and down over a branch of a tree till butter is made."

* Lewis says, he is sent to *Batavia* as the Governor of THE CAPE would not permit him to settle in the country as a farmer.



QUAI DUPLEIN, CHANDERNAGORE, IN 1890, LOOKING NORTH.
(Photo. by T. Ochme.)



LES GRANDS ESCALIERS DU BORD DU GANGE, 1870, LOOKING SOUTH.
(Photo. by T. Ochme.)

Echoes from Old Chandernagore.



THE visit of the Calcutta Historical Society to Chandernagore has given a decided impetus to archæological research in that place and some interesting finds have come to light. The most important, of course, was the "discovery" of the indispensable "oldest inhabitant" in the person of Mr. E. Holguette grandson of an officer in the French Company of H. H.

Nizam Ali of Hyderabad. By dint of appealing to his memory—a particularly lively one, and ransacking the registers of the "Etat Civil" which go back to the year 1690, it has been possible to glean the following particulars.

MRS. WATTS.

The first object of interest is a house (now in ruins) situated west of the "Rue de Paris," at its intersection with the "Rue des Grands Escaliers," to which local tradition has given the name of "Watts Barakana" (Watts' residence), from the fact that it was for a short time, in 1756, the residence of Mrs. Frances Watts, wife of William Watts, Chief of the English factory at Cossimbazar, and afterwards celebrated as the "Begum Johnson." After the capture of Calcutta, the Soubha Siraj-ud-Dowla kept Mr. Watts and his family in durance vile at Moorshedabad; but, through the favour of the Begum, the Nawab's mother, with whom she found an asylum, Mrs. Watts obtained safe conveyance by water to Chandernagore, where, in the words of the *Bengal Obituary*, "she was received with all hospitality and attention by Mr. Lauss (*sic*) the French Governor." The name of the Governor, by the way, was not Lauss (presumably meant for Jean Law) but Pierre Mathieu Renault de St. Germain.

Another interesting locality is that known as "Chowdhuripara," being the continuation of "Rue Desbassyns de Richemont," to the west of "Rue de Paris," called after an eminent Indian family of that name whose ancestor, Indra Narain Chowdhuri, "Dewan" of the French Settlement, built a little temple near his residence. Quite apart from its historical associations, this temple merits attention from the wealth and delicacy of its carving.

THE WERLÉES.

The name of most popular interest in Chandernagore is, of course, that of Werlée; but a diligent search among the old registers has yielded no information directly connected with the most famous bearer of that name—Noël Catherine, Mme. Grand. Her father, Pierre Jean Werlée[or Varlet], was

a "Lieutenant de Frégate," the son of Adam Werlée, a native of Port Louis, and Marie Bodeveuc; and in 1744, at the age of 23, he married Marguerite da Silva, who was aged 14.

Pierre Jean Werlée was a Master Pilot of the Ganges down to 1753. For many years after this date he was absent from Chandernagore; and, in the interval, his spouse Marguerite da Silva died, and he remarried Laurencia Oleigne* (or Alen). By his first marriage he had issue:

- (1) Marie Anne François Xavier, b. 5th July 1746. Married to Mr. Michel Nicolas de Calnois, "Greffier en chef du Conseil Provincial." A daughter of this marriage, Modeste Victorine Nicolas, was the *second wife* of Jean Mathieu Rene Michelet, and died in 1801, aged 17, leaving an infant daughter, who survived her about a month.
- (2) Louis Adam, b. 28th November 1748.
- (3) Marguerite, b. 14th July 1752.
- (4) Antonie, b. 17th December 1753.

It was during his long absence from Chandernagore that, on the 21st November 1762, at Tranquebar, Pierre Werlée's daughter by his second marriage, Noël Catherine, was born. He re-appears in Chandernagore in 1766 as "Capitaine du Port," his son Jean Xavier being born on the 20th September of that year. This son became a Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur and the proprietor of a flourishing Indigo concern at Harrah in the Nuddea district. He married Louise Marie Lacheney, daughter of Louis Lacheney, a factor of the Company and Chief of the factory at Cossimbazar. Jean Xavier was evidently a good Churchman, for in 1808, he was "Marguillier" of the Church of St. Louis; he died at Harrah in 1826, and his body was brought to Chandernagore for interment. His wife had died seven years earlier; and he left a son, Jean Pierre Xavier Cheri, who in 1819 was married to Mdlle. Palmire, daughter of Captain Pierre Paul Darrac, Chief of the French "loges" at Dacca and Jagdea. In 1844 the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Paris, communicated to the "Etat Civil" of Chandernagore the news of the death on the 1st September at 15, Rue Aile St. Louis, of Mr. Xavier Werlée, æt. 23, a student in the College of Mines and a native of Chandernagore. This young man was probably a son of Jean Xavier Werlée.

Tradition assigns the residence of the Werlée family to the house in Rue Carnot (formerly Rue Neuve) now owned by Mr. I. Lehuraux.

JESUITS AND CAPUCHINS.

The present Convent of the Immaculate Conception (under the Sisters of St. Joseph de Cluny) and the adjacent Chapel were the scene of missionary

* Busteed refers to her as Allancy.

efforts in Bengal which go back almost to the origin of the early French Settlements.

In virtue of a contract between the French Company of the Indies and Dom Jose Pinheiro, Bishop of San Thomé, the missions of French India were divided between the Capuchins and the Society of Jesus, the former ministering to the European settlers (as at Pondicherry) and the latter the native converts; but the Jesuits formed the sole parochial clergy of the factory at Chandernagore called the "Paroisse de Notre Dame." A branch of Italian Capuchins belonging to the Thibet Mission, under a Vicar Apostolic at Agra, were also settled in the "loge" where they established a foundling-hospital. This "hospice des enfants trouvés" mentioned as "situé sur le ghât," *i.e.*, on the present Quai Duplex, is now the Convent of the Immaculate Conception. The earliest reference to it is in 1694; the date inscribed on the door of the chapel being 1720.

Early in 1731, relations became strained between the Council at Chandernagore and their Jesuit pastors. The former, jealous of the supremacy of the Padroado, favoured the appointment of French Capuchins under their own Prefect Apostolic at Pondicherry, while the French Jesuits, the "de facto" clergy, deferred to the authority of the "Proviseur" (Superior General) of the Diocese of St. Thomé resident at Golgotha (Hooghly), and refused to make the Chapel of Fort d'Orleans the parish church of the "loge." As a result, Fathers Boudier and Pons were dismissed ("chassés de la loge") and an Italian Capuchin Dom Albert Saldeim was appointed Almoner. But the banished clergy were soon reinstated, doubtless through the good offices of Guillaume Guillandeu ("a remarkable benefactor of the Church of Chandernagore and of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus," as his memorial tablet records); and in 1733, we find Pere Boudier officiating at the baptism of the eldest son of Councillor Pierre Renault de St. Germain, with Mr. Duplex as sponsor. This son, Pierre Renault afterwards "Capitaine au Bataillon de l'Inde," fought under his father during the attack on Chandernagore by Clive and Watson in 1757, and signed the treaty of surrender.

A letter from the correspondent of the *Calcutta Christian Herald* published in the *Friend of India*, of 14th November 1844, states: "In 1753, four Jesuits resided as missionaries at Chandernagore; they had an hospital which sometimes accommodated three hundred patients as also an orphan refuge in which were 105 girls who received a religious training; they had been purchased from their parents who sold them out of distress." The hospital here referred to was probably the "Hospital National" in charge of the Jesuits, which was afterwards served by Thomas Lucas, René Michelet, Hervé Dubois and M. Gauvin. It is not to be confounded with the "hospice" of the Capuchins above-mentioned. The Jesuits also had a flourishing

College at "Bandel d'Ougly" (*sic*) of which the R. P. George Deiterman, a German, was Rector in 1739 when he officiated, at the church of St. Louis, Chandernagore, at the marriage of M. Jean Baptiste de Mondesert of the Council, with Catherine Butbeg, widow of Nicolas Gordinho, a native of Chinchuras (*sic*). It was in the Jesuit Parochial house at Chandernagore that the Rev. Dom Francisco Lainez, the saintly Bishop of San Thomé (successor of Blessed John de Britto) resided in 1714, on his memorable pastoral tour, which ended so fatally at the college of the Portuguese Jesuits at Bandel, where he died on the 11th June 1715.*

In 1764, on the suppression of the Society of Jesus in France by Louis XV and the transference of their missions in French India to the "Missions Etrangères," the members of the exiled order in Chandernagore were affiliated to the foreign missions and continued in charge of the Parish, now styled "Paroisse de St. Louis." In 1778 they were Nicholas Possevin, Jean Garofallo, Antoine Garret, and a certain Père Broquet who appears to have instructed boys in pilotage. The faithful Father Possevin had for the past 30 years followed the vicissitudes of the colony. He had seen the heyday of its prosperity, the humiliations of the siege, the sad days at Fredericksnagar, and the return of the inhabitants to their old homes in 1762. In December 1778, he and his companions left Chandernagore; and the Rev. Joseph François, Capuchin, took formal possession of the "Cure."

With the outbreak of the French Revolution all religious were secularised. On the 14th June 1828 the parishes of Pondicherry and Chandernagore were transferred to the Congregation of the Holy Ghost, but for many years Chandernagore was without any resident priest.

The Italian monks meantime had continued their good work of providing an asylum for the poor as well as an hospital for young children, sold by their parents in the great famine of 1770, whose death roll forms a melancholy chapter in the history of the settlement.

The Capuchin establishment was also an almshouse; and among those who resided or died there may be mentioned Padre Marco della Tomba (between 1756 and 1773), the author of an "Historical and Geographical Account of India," of which an Italian edition was published in Florence in 1878; Pierre Elizabeth Latour (1815) buried in the verandah of the Chapel, Jerome Piaggio (1819) and Fra Angelo (1830).

Towards the beginning of the last century, the intrepid sons of St. Francis of Assisi, who, some fifty years earlier, had penetrated as far as Lhasa, where they founded a convent, gradually abandoned all attempt at the evangelisation of Thibet, which they found beyond their resources; and

* "Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses écrites des Missions étrangères," Paris 1781.



CHAPEL AND CONVENT OF THE SISTERS OF ST. JOSEPH DE CLUNY.

(Photo by T. Ochme.)

in 1846, at the request of Mgr. Borghi, Vicar-Apostolic of Agra, the Thibetan Mission was made over to the "Missions Etrangères."* In consequence, the Hospice at Chandernagore had for years remained untenanted. In 1842, the indefatigable Dr. P. J. Carew, Vicar-Apostolic of Bengal, who had just been instrumental in bringing to Calcutta the first batch of nuns of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin from Loretto Abbey, Rathfarnham, established a branch of that institution at Chandernagore, and for that purpose took over the old Hospice. The gateway of the Chapel to this day bears the inscription: "Deo et Beat. Mar. Virg. Lauretanæ." On the 16th May 1842, Bishop Carew visited Chandernagore, where he was received with the pealing of bells and a salvo of guns, and entertained by the Governor, Mr. de St. Hilaire, who entered "his engaging little daughter" as the first pupil of the new Convent. The school was opened on the 1st August, 1842, mainly through the generous exertions of M. Joseph Paul, St. Pourçain, and was soon crowded with pupils. Two adjacent houses were also rented and the Catholic male and female orphanages, languishing at Moorgheehatta, Calcutta, transferred there. In 1847, consequent on the changes resulting from the recall of the English Jesuits from Calcutta, Dr. Carew withdrew the boarding school and orphanages from Chandernagore and established them at Entally, Calcutta.

In the sixties of the last century, the "Hospice" was known as Nielly's hotel, the "Patron" (a former "Capitaine au long cours") being the nephew of Joseph Marie Admiral Baron Nielly, Chevalier of St. Louis, who, in the second year of the French Republic, captured the British Frigate *Alexander* in a naval combat in the Channel, and commanded the squadron which conveyed General Hoche to Bantry Bay on his ill-starred invasion of Ireland. In 1867, the main building of the Capuchin hospital was purchased from the owners by M. Alfred Courjon and bestowed "on the Town of Chandernagore to serve in perpetuity for the education of girls under the direction of a Community of Religious of the Roman Catholic faith." The Chapel, dissociated from the old hospital, was put to profane uses, having been alternately a dwelling house and a storehouse for hams, wine and groceries. It was ultimately purchased by the late Mrs. Gonsalves of Serampur, who, in 1870, bestowed it on the Community of French nuns who had just opened a convent in the adjacent building.

A PRISONER OF THE "BASTILLE."

To conclude this somewhat lengthy account of matters ecclesiastical at Chandernagore it is worth while recalling an incident which caused

* "Le Thibet d'après la Correspondance des Missionnaires." C. H. Desgodins.

considerable stir in Calcutta of the forties. In 1840, there being no resident Curé in the French Settlement, Dr. Taberd, Vicar-Apostolic of Bengal (well-known as the author of a Cochín-Chinese Dictionary), directed the Rev. Andrew O'Sullivan, R. C. Chaplain to the troops at Chinsurah, to attend to the wants of the Catholics of Chandernagore. About the 11th June, the Reverend Gentleman, on one of his periodic visits there, was entrusted by the Supreme Court at Calcutta with the distribution of the Claud Martin Charity, amounting to some 700 rupees, to the poor of Chandernagore. He proceeded to the Church of St. Louis and out of courtesy invited one of the Magistrates to be present at the distribution of the alms. The Magistrate came, but to the surprise of the Priest requested him in the name of the acting Governor, Mr. A. Bourgoïn, to hand over all the money in his possession. This Father O'Sullivan very properly refused to do, and, in consequence, to quote the words of the *Bengal Harkaru*, "his almirah was sealed up, his buggy and pony taken away, and he himself left to repent of his contumacy in a damp prison." Whatever explanation the Governor may have had for his high-handed proceeding, great was the wrath of the Calcutta Press at the summary treatment meted out to a British subject in the discharge of a trust imposed upon him by the Supreme Court. Loud and deep were the thunders of the great Stocqueler, mordant the sarcasms of the *Harkaru*, and plaintive the bleating of the *Bengal Catholic Expositor*. *The Englishman*, indeed, suggested that the friends of the imprisoned Curé should collect a body of seamen from the ships in the river, arm them "after a fashion" and lead them to the assault of the Chandernagore Bastille; a proceeding which the *Harkaru* characterised as "a summary process of *Habeas Corpus* to be served on the Jail of Chandernagore . . . not out of a Court of Star-Chamber, but, as the Eastern luminary would say, a Court of *Tar-Chamber*." The position of the captive Pastor was indeed sufficiently serious, and it is on record that he contracted a severe cold and hoarseness in his "damp residence." Mgr. Pezzoni, late Bishop of Agra, then at Chandernagore, and the kindhearted Mons. Joseph St. Pourçain did all that lay in their power to alleviate his captivity; but higher powers had been invoked. The Governor-General, Lord Auckland, himself intervened and requested Mr. Barlow, the Judge of Hooghly, to wait on Mr. Bourgoïn and demand the liberation of his prisoner and the restoration of his money and other possessions. With this demand the Administrator saw fit to comply; and after more than a week's incarceration "in a damp dungeon with the thermometer at 100° Fah.," the aged but intrepid clergyman was set at liberty in the presence of Mr. Barlow, who conveyed him back to Chinsurah in his own carriage. It is but fair to add that H. E. the Governor of Pondicherry,

Chevalier du Camper, who had been appealed to in the circumstances, condemned *in toto* the proceedings of his subordinate and sent peremptory orders for the release of Mr. O'Sullivan.

The present Church of the Sacred Heart was begun in 1875, under the auspices of Rev. Father Barthet of the Congregation of the "Saint Esprit." The funds for its erection were obtained from public lotteries sanctioned by the Government, who also made a money grant. The labours incidental to the raising of funds and the erection of the building, which occupied nine years, devolved mainly on Father Barthet, and Brother Joachim of the same order, who was his Superintendent of Works. It was solemnly consecrated, on the 27th January 1884, by the late Archbishop of Calcutta, Dr. Paul Goëthals, S. J., assisted by Monseigneur Corbet, Vicar-Apostolic of French India, and a great concourse of the clergy. The late Father Lafont preached the inaugural sermon.

No mention of this handsome church would be complete without a reference to its founder, whose self-denying labours are still remembered with gratitude in Chandernagore. Magloire Barthet came out to India in 1862. He became Curé of Chandernagore in 1864 and occupied that post till 1888 when, in consequence of the establishment of the hierarchy, the Congregation of the St. Esprit were recalled by Pope Leo XIII to other fields. During his long connection with the parish he had seen a new generation spring up, whose feelings for him were those of veneration. He was a man of large sympathy, and the regard he inspired was shared by the Indian population among whom he laboured. Besides the Church, he founded a school (Ste. Marie), which has since become the College Dupleix. Shortly after his retirement from India he was raised to the Episcopate; and his many admirers will be glad to learn that he still survives.

OLD ST. LOUIS.

Adjoining the Church of the Sacred Heart, to the north, at the corner of Rue Général Martin (shown at the right of the foreground in the picture), stood the old Church of St. Louis (now in ruins), formerly a salt godown of the French factory. The little Jesuit Church mentioned by Hamilton, which stood to the north of Fort d'Orleans, was demolished in 1757, before the siege, as it interfered with the range of the guns from the Fort. Laurent Garçin in his account of Chandernagore (1726-27) alludes to a "forte jolie petite Eglise" in course of construction alongside the Director's house, evidently within Fort d'Orleans. After the capture of Chandernagore, when peace and order were once more restored, in 1762, the old salt godown was assigned to the Curé and consecrated as a place of worship. The following tablets, which may be seen on the outer gallery south of the present Church

of the Sacred Heart, are those of notable persons who were buried in the Old Church of St. Louis :—

- (1) Mmc. Marie-Antoniette Courjon (1849), the mother of the "Prince of Chandernagore."
- (2) Jean Henri Piron (1807), Commandant of the French corps in the service of Hyder Ali.
- (3) Guillaume Guillaudeu, Councillor (1754). The armorial bearings at the head of this stone display a mailed hand in an oval field crowned with a Coronet. Popular legend among the simple Indian folk, who have their own way of reading a funeral hatchment, explains that the rings on the gauntlets signify that the deceased gentleman died of small-pox.
- (4) Mmc. Catharine Ovsy (Crapierre),* wife of Mr. François Daguin de la Blanchetière, Governor of Chandernagore (1729).

In addition to these, Pierre Renault de St. Germain, Governor of Chandernagore, was buried in the old Church of St. Louis in 1777, as well as an infant daughter of Mr. Jean Baptiste Chevalier, Governor, and Marie Marquise d'Aligny, his wife, born at Ghiretti, 1776, who died immediately after baptism. No stone now commemorates poor Renault.

Besides the Church of the Sacred Heart, and the Convert Chapel, the only other place of Christian worship in Chandernagore is the little Anglican Chapel in Rue Carnot dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, which is under the charge of the Chaplain of Howrah. The foundation stone was laid by Mrs. Barlow on the 15th March 1902, the building licensed on Christmas-day, 1902, and consecrated on the 27th December 1904, by the Rt. Rev. R. S. Copleston, Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

THE CEMETERY.

The plan of the Cemetery at Chandernagore will, it is hoped, prove useful to the curious rambler among the silent monuments of the past. Mention has already been made of Mr. Alfred Courjon, whose public services earned for him the title of Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur from Napoleon III. Besides founding the Convent already alluded to, he bestowed on the Municipality the house which serves as the Mairie, and liberally supported the hospital, established by Dr. Léon Margain, the orphanages, and every work of public utility or private charity. A passing reference may be made to his younger brother, Mr. Eugène Joseph Courjon, created "Maharajah-Prince de Chandernagor," strange to say by the Republican Government of France under M. Jules Grévy. Rumour says that the deceased gentleman, who won a local

* The name is variously spelt Voskitady, Oukstady, Wskitady and Aushy.

reputation by his lavish entertainments and great musical talents, was largely responsible for the political mission to King Thebaw, which ended disastrously for the emissary of France and led to the conquest of Upper Burma by the English. The following names have been omitted from the "Key to notable graves."

- (1) About the extreme end of the Protestant Section, *left* of the main walk as the visitor enters the gate, lies the grave of Edward Welsh Hollingbery, brother of Robert Heatly Hollingbery, Assistant Secretary to the Government of India, Financial Department. The latter's opinion on matters of revenue and finance were held in the highest esteem by Lord Northbrook, Sir Evelyn Baring (now Lord Cromer), Sir Richard Temple, Mr. R. Barclay Chapman and others; and he was the author of several works of great utility in their day, such as "A Handbook on Gold and Silver" and a work on landlord and tenant. Mr. E. W. Hollingbery married his cousin, a sister of the late Sir George Welsh Kellner, K.C.M.G., C.S.I., also a well-known Anglo-Indian financier.
- (2) In the plot between the graves of the two Hartleys, lies Mr. Joseph Paul Dauman St. Pourçain (1847), "the friend of the poor," a wealthy landowner, and great philanthropist.

NAPOLEON AND CHANDERNAGORE.

The grave of M. Jules de Momet, "the brave soldier of Napoleon," recalls the fact that this is by no means the only connection of Chandernagore with the Man of Destiny. Perhaps the most interesting birth which took place at Ghiretti was that of Jean Guillaume Law de Lauriston in 1766. He was the son of the famous Jean Law de Lauriston, once Chief of Cossimbazar, whose nephew James Alexandre Bernard was a favourite Aide-de-Camp of the first Napoleon, and was made by Louis XVIII a Marshal of France.

A younger branch of the family of Law yet exists at Pondicherry, *viz.*, Law de Clapernou, one member of which was Governor of Chandernagore in 1857.

Extracts from the old Parochial Registers are appended.

MARIAGE.

ANNEE 1741. DUPLEIX (JOSEPH) ET ALBERT (JEANNE) VVE VINCENS.

Le R. P. François de l'Assomption Religieux Augustin Curé de Calcutta et Vicaire de Vara pour le royaume de Bengale, ayant accordé le onze Avril de

cette année la dispense pour l'empêchement de l'affinité spirituelle, et dispense de la publication des bans, Je soussigné Curé de Chandernagor ai le dix-sept du même mois, marié avec les cérémonies prescrites par le rituel romain M. Joseph François Dupleix, écuyer Directeur Général pour la Compagnie de France dans le Royaume de Bengale, Président du Conseil de Chandernagor, nommé Gouverneur des Ville, Citadelle et Forts de Pondichéry, Commandant Général dans l'Inde et Président du Conseil supérieur de Pondichéry, natif de Landrecies, fils de François Dupleix écuyer Seigneur de Bacquencourt et de Merçin Sieur Desgardes Fannevielle La Bruyère &c ecuyer ordinaire de la Grande Ecurie de Sa Majesté, Fermier Général et Directeur Général de la Compagnie des Indes, et de Dame Anne Louise de Massac, agé de quarante trois ans, avec Madame Jeanne Albert, veuve de M. Jacques Vincens, Conseiller du Conseil Supérieur de Pondichéry, néé a Pondichéry, fille de M. Jacques Théodore Albert, et de Dona Elizabeth Rose de Castro, agé de trente-trois ans : Temoins M. le Chevalier François Schonamille Gouverneur pour Sa Majesté Impériale (*sic*) à Cassimbazar, M. Jean Albert de Schiterman, Conseiller des Indes et Directeur Général pour la noble Compie. de Hollande à Chinchura et son épouse Madame Sibille Folkera, Mrs du Conseil de Chandernagor, Dona Elizabeth Rosa de Castro, mère de l'épouse ; Mesdames Marie Madeleine Albert, veuve Aumont, Suzanne Ursule Albert de St. Paul, Rose Eleonore Albert d'Arboulain, sœurs, et M. M. Nicolas Louis de St. Paul, second du Comptoir de Chandernagor, Louis Carloman d'Arboulain, écuyer, beaux-frères de la dite épouse.

(Signé) Claude Stanislas Boudier, Jésuite Curé.

(Signé) Jeanne Albert, Sibilla Volkera, Schiterman, Geboore Savulyn, G. Guillandeu, de St. Paul, Ravet, le Chr. de Schonamille, Albert veuve Aumont, Albert d'Arboulain, Renault, Guillandeu, Dupleix, Desdezerts, d'Haugest, le Chr. Courtin, Finiel.

BAPTÊME.

1766. VERLÉE JEAN XAVIER.

Jean Xavier Verlée fils légitime du sieur Pierre Verlée Capitaine du Port de Chandernagor et de dame Laurençia Oleigne son épouse, agé de 6 jours a été baptisé par moi soussigné Curé de Chandernagor le 26 du mois de Septembre 1766 : Parrain le sieur Jean La Sonde Mondésert négociant, Marraine Dame Jeanne Gregori de Mondésert son épouse. En foi de quoi j'ai signé.

Signé J. L. Xav. de St. Estevan Curé.

Signé Jeanne Gregori, M. A. F. X. Verlée, Pierre Verlée, Robert Maddiran, Char. Mederburn,

DÉCÈS.

DAME LOUISE MARIE LACHENEY WORLÉE.

Aujourd'hui trois Mars mil huit cent dix neuf à neuf heures du matin, acte de décès de la dame Louise Marie Lacheney Worlée, décédée le deux du présent mois de Mars, à midi dix minutes, âgée de quarante-quatre ans née à Chandernagor et y demeurant rue Neuve, épouse du sieur Jean Xavier Worlée, Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur, Propriétaire.

Sur la déclaration à nous faite par le sieur Jean Baptiste Audebert Chanbon, agent pour le sel, âgé de cinquante-neuf ans, demeurant à Chandernagor, Rue de Paris, et le sieur François Xavier Legou, Assesseur au Tribunal de la Colonie âgé de cinquante-huit ans, demeurant à Chandernagor, Rue des Grands Escaliers du bord du Gange. Tous deux ont déclaré être amis de la famille et ont signé, lecture faite.

Constaté par nous Antoine Le Franc, Lieutenant de Police à Chandernagor dans le Bengale, chargé de l'Etat Civil.

Ont signé: F. Legou, J. B. Audebert Chanbon, A. Le Franc, Lieutenant de Police, chargé de l'Etat Civil.

DÉCÈS.

SIEUR JEAN XAVIER VERLÉE.

L'an mil huit cent vingt six, le vingt sixieme jour du mois de Juillet, à midi, par devant nous, Antoine Le Franc, Lieutenant de Police, chargé de l'Etat Civil à Chandernagor, sont comparus le sieur Pierre Paul D'Arrac, Capitaine, Ancien Chef de Loge, âgé de cinquante-quatre ans, demeurant Rue Neuve, et le sieur Jean Charles Audebert Chanbon, propriétaire, âgé de soixante-quatre ans, demeurant Rue de Paris, tous deux habitants de cette ville; Lesquels nous ont déclaré, que le vingt-quatre du présent mois de Juillet, à neuf heures du soir, le sieur Jean Xavier Verlée, Chevalier de l'Ordre Royal de la Légion d'Honneur, Propriétaire, âgé de cinquante-neuf ans, né à Chandernagor, fils légitime de feu Sieur Pierre Verlée, Capitaine de Port à Chandernagor, et de la feue Dame Alen, et veuf de la dame Louise Marie Lacheney, native de Chandernagor, est décédé à son Indigoterie de Harrah, District de Noudia, territoire Anglais, Lequel a été transporté en cette Ville pour y être inhumé. Et les déclarants ont signé avec nous le présent acte de décès après qu'il leur en a été fait lecture.

Ont signé : D'Arrac, Capitane ; J. B. Audebert Chanbon ; A. Le Franc, Lieutenant de Police, chargé de l'Etat Civil.

BAPTÊME.

1766. LAW DE LORISTON JEAN GUILLAUME.

Jean Guillaume Law de Loriston né le huitième de Septembre de l'année mil sept cent soixante six, ondoyé le dix-huitième du même mois à Garatti, par moi soussigné Curé de Chandernagor avec la permission du R. P. Manuel Grand Vicaire de ce diocèse, a été baptisé solennellement le vingt-et-un Décembre de la même année. Il est fils légitime de Mr. Jean Law de Loriston, Colonel d'Infanterie Commissaire du Roy dans les Indes Orientales, Général de toutes les concessions françaises, Gouverneur de Pondichéry, Président du Conseil Souverain actuellement résidant à Chandernagor et de tous les Conseils particuliers de l'Inde française, Chevalier de l'ordre royal militaire de St. Louis, et de dame Jeanne Law Carvalho son épouse. Parrain a été Mr. Jean Chevalier Conseiller des Indes et du Conseil Souverain actuellement à Chandernagor. Marraine Dame Catherine Floyer Carvalho, épouse de Mr. Charles Floyer Conseiller du Conseil de Calcutta, tante de l'enfant. En foi de quoi j'ai signé. Ont été témoins Messrs. Charles Floyer, Jean Baptiste Chevalier, Catherine Floyer Lewis, Marie Grant, Galliot Nicolas, Delaselle, Carvalho, Law de Loriston, Renault, Louis Carvalho, F. Nicolas.

Signé: L. Xav. de St. Estevan Curé

In compiling the above notes, valuable assistance has been received from Rev. Fr. A. Delaunoy, S. J., Rev. Fr. A. Van de Mergel, S. J., Mr. I. Lehuraux and Mr. E. W. Madge of the Imperial Library.

A. LX.

KEY TO NOTABLE GRAVES IN THE CHANDERNAGORE CEMETERY.

TABLETS IN CHAPEL.

NOTES.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Louise Marie Werlée née Lacheney, 1819. | Daughter of Louis Lacheney described as "Négociant" and "Sous Marchand de la Compagnie;" once Chief of the Factory at Cossimbazar, obit. 1780; and wife of Jean X. Werlée. |
| 2. Jean Xavier Werlée, 1826 ... | Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur. Described as "Propriétaire." Son of Pierre Jean Werlée, Lieut. de Frégate and Capitaine de Port, and Dame Laurencia Oleigne (Alen), Brother of Noël Catherine Werlée (Mrs. Grand) afterwards Princesse de Talleyrand-Périgord. |
| 3. Mrs. Thos. Savi, 1826. Aet 17 ¹ / ₄ years, born at Madras. | Charlotte Fanny, wife of Thomas Savi "Indigotier," and daughter of Paul Frederic de Caselli, Captain in the "Régiment de Meuron", and of Pétronille de Meuron who married for the second time Joseph François Doyot "Intendant General" of the French possessions in Bengal (died 1821). |

MONUMENTS.

4. Master George Nelson, 1800 The earliest English surname.
 5. Jerome Piaggio, 1819 ... Mahratta officer. "Pensionnaire de l'honorable Compagnie Anglaise."
 6. Amenaide de Chéron, 1828,
Aet 18 $\frac{1}{4}$ years. Amenaide Appoline d'Embrun d'Arbeilles dau. of
Achille Appolonius d'Embrun d'Arbeilles
"Propriétaire" and of Anne Victoire Berse ;
wife of Jean Baptiste Louis Chéron, "Ex-
aspirant de la Marine de 1re Classe" (middy),
"Propriétaire a Kourabari District de Noudia."
 7. Jean Baptiste Audebert "Agent pour le sel."
Chanbon, 1842.
 8. Jean Charles Audebert "Propriétaire Chef de Chaupour et Assesseur
Chanbon, 1827. au Tribunal de la Cacherie."
- The above two were sons of Jean Baptiste Edme Audebert Chanbon, described as
"Marchand Particulier et Subrecargue des Vaisseaux de l'Inde" (supercargo), by his
marriage with Marie Jeanne Xavier Renault (obit 1811), daughter of Pierre Mathieu Renault
de St. Germain, Directeur-General of Chandernagore in 1755. A daughter of J. B. Edme
Audebert Chanbon, Anne Elizabeth, married (1779) François Emmanuel Deshaïs de Montigny,
Governor of Chandernagore in 1789. The five nameless graves surrounding 7 and 8 are
doubtless of members of this family.
9. Felix Neil, 1838 ... Acting Administrator.
 10. Mme. Ravier, 1822 ... Jeanne Nicole Valentin de Serpe, wife of François
Ravier Chef de Service of Chandernagore.
 11. Jean Mathieu René Michelet,
1807. "Chirurgien Major de cette Colonie" and "Pres-
dent du Tribunal de Justice." He was *twice*
married. 1st to Sophie Brigitte de Ranger
who died 1786 æt 28 leaving a son Jean
Charles, born 1778. 2nd to Modeste Victoire
Nicolas de Calnois who died 1801, æt 17.
Thls lady's mother was Marie François
Xavier Werlée, daughter of old Pierre Jean
Werlée by his first wife, Marguerite da Silva.
 12. Eugène Joseph Courjon, 1896 "Maharajah-Prince de Chandernagor," a well known
Zemindar of E. Bengal.
 13. Charles Alfred Courjon, 1875 Chevalier de La Légion d'Honneur, elder brother of
the preceding ; a well known Zemindar of East
Bengal and a great benefactor of Chan-
dernagore.
 14. Auguste Germain Bourgoin,
1845. Son of Etienne Bourgoin (obit 1820) Chevalier
de St. Louis et de la Légion d'Honneur, Chief of
the loge of Cossimbazar. Auguste Germain
was "Commis Principal de la Marine" and
Acting Administrator in 1838.
 15. Adolphe Philibert du Bois Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur, etc., Chef de
de Jancigny, 1860. Service of Chandernagore. Former Aide-de-
Camp to the King of Oude ; a Savant Orien-
talist.

16. Fidel Amand Blouet, 1804 ... Sous-Lieutenant de la Marine and Capitaine du Port.
17. Joseph Paul Daumain St. Pourçain, 1847. Sous-Commissaire de la Marine ; Acting Chef de Service of Chandernagore.
18. Mme. St. Croix, 1845 ... Louise Rose Dubois daughter of Hervé Dubois "Chirurgien de l'Hopital;" wife of Louis Auguste Nègre de St. Croix "ancien Capitaine de Vaisseau" and Merchant.
19. Mme Michel Durup de Dombal, 1826. Catherine Charlotte Dubois also daughter of Hervé Dubois and wife of Michel Durup de Dombal (obit 1820) "Capitaine d'Infanterie au Régiment de Pondichéry."
20. Jacques Maximine De Verlinne, 1801. "Ancien Agent de la Compagnie des Indes. Procureur du Roi."

The tall coneshaped monument alongside is presumably that of the wife of the preceding Catherine de [la] Touche (obit. 1805) daughter of M. Louis Galliot de la Touche, "Capitaine" de la quèche le "Saint Louis" and in 1733 Capitaine du Port at Pondicherry.

21. Joseph DaCosta senior, 1830 Of Patna city.
22. François Desgranges, 1827. "Rentier," son of Jean Baptiste Lemesle Desgranges, Chief of the "loges" of Dacca and Jagdea.
23. Léon Margain, 1881 ... Chief Surgeon of the Colony of Chandernagore and founder of the "Hospice Hopital Margain."
24. Alexis François Antoine Tardivel, 1858. Merchant.
25. Louisa Cecilia Hartley, 1839 Wife of Mr. Bartholomew Hartley junr.
26. Mrs. Eliza Hartley, 1836 ... Relict of Bartholomew Hartley, Esq., of the Hon. E. I. Company's Medical Service.

The interest attaching to the above graves 25 and 26 lies in the supposed connection of the Hartley family with the well known letters of "Miss Goldborne" called "Hartly House, Calcutta" and the prominent part taken by Dr. Hartley in the building of St. John's Church, Calcutta.

27. Jules de Momet, 1862 ... "A brave soldier of the 1st Napoleon."
28. Mrs. Caroline Hawkesworth, 1837. Wife of Samuel Hawkesworth, Esq., of Calcutta. Possibly related to the Compiler of the E. I. Chronologist.
29. Henry Piddington, 1858 ... Author of the "Law of Storms."
30. Robert Bland ... For 18 years Chaplain of Gowhati.
31. Jas. Alexander Cossard de Terraneau. Descendant of M. Etienne Charles Cossard de Terraneau, Ecuyer, "Officier des Troupes" in 1756.
32. Alice Rattray ... Daughter of Robt. Haldane Rattray, B.C.S.
33. Major Walter Key Haslewood. Of the H. E. I. Co.'s 2nd European Regiment (Clarke-ka-Gora) commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel [afterwards Lieutenant-General] Sir Walter Raleigh Gilbert, K.C.B. The small monumental pillar marking the resting-place of this gallant officer was erected by a native cloth-



PARASENAH

(Photo by Lt. Col. W. J. Buchanan, I.M.S.)



"WHERE THREE EMPIRES MEET."

Boundary of Nepal, Sikkim, and Bengal, beyond Phalut, 11,800 feet.

(Photo by Lt.-Col. W. J. Buchanan, I.M.S.)

General Note-Book.



WE are indebted to Dr. Busteed for a copy of the following inscription taken from a monument in the English Burying Ground on the island, Madras [*i.e.*, St. Mary's Cemetery] :—

“ Here lieth interred the body
of

Thomas MADGE, Esq.,

late Major

in the Honorable Company's Service,
who departed this Life

the 8th of November, Anno Domini 1773,

Aged 31.

The stream that winds majestic o'er the plain,
Adorns the prospect and delights the swain ;
If chance the Summer leave its channel dry,
The village mourns its absence with a sigh :
Such sighs, alas ! with anguish fraught prevail'd,
When Life's warm stream in MADGE's bosom fail'd,
No more his course shall friendship's eye pursuc,
No more be brightened with the pleasing view !
Here MADGE, thou sleep'st,—where now unconquered reign,
Thy daring spirit, and thy martial vein ?
Ah ! what avails that covetous of Praise,
Thou twind'st the Scholar's with the Soldier's bays !

To the above Mr. K. N. Dhar, B.A., subjoins the following note :—

The monument was subsequently levelled and the inscription embedded in masonry. The inscription is given in Urquhart's *Oriental Obituary* (1809-13). The verses themselves afford a good example of eighteenth-century elegiacs. Major Thomas Madge, mentioned above, was in command of the 12th Madras Sepoy Battalion. His kinsman (nephew ?) Captain Edward Henry Madge of the 9th Foot commanded at Kandy at the opening of the nineteenth century. He is mentioned by Macfarlane, Tennent, Cordiner, Percival, Pridham, and other historians, and in the *Ceylon Gazette* of July 13, 1803, he was accorded the thanks of the Governor (the Hon. Frederick North) “for his gallant defence of Fort Macdowall, and the judicious manner in which he brought off his garrison.” Not long after this, however, having libelled a superior officer, he was court-martialled and directed to retire by the sale of his commission (Horse Guards Order, dated August 21, 1806). It was, we believe, his aunt (and Major Thomas Madge's sister) Elizabeth

who became Lady Fletcher on her marriage with Colonel Sir Richard Fletcher, Baronet, commanding the Royal Engineers. He had served on Wellington's staff as chief engineer and fell at St. Sebastian (1813). The maiden-name of his wife was misprinted as "Mudge" in *Burke*, but is correctly given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (Vol. 83, pt. ii, p. 499). The Madges are a Devonshire family to whom Mr. Cutcliffe Hyne, the popular novelist, is in some way related. At the present day they are neighbours of Sir Roper Lethbridge at Exbourne. The Eurasian branch of the family became household proprietors in Calcutta over a century ago, owning landed property on the site of the New Hogg Market and the late Opera House. Madge's Lane, as stated in Mr. H. E. A. Cotton's *Calcutta Old and New*, is named after the family and one of them signed the Farewell Address to Lord Minto in 1813.

It is not generally known that in the year 1847 the old Residency graveyard at Jangipur (District Murshidabad) was washed away by the river. In the *Calcutta Gazette* of Saturday, March 4, 1848, there appears the following "NOTICE":—

During the last floods in the Bhaugirutty River the Burial Ground at Jungypore was washed away.

The tablets described beneath were removed from the monuments and deposited in the Toll Office, and will be delivered to any relatives or friends of the deceased, to whose memory they were erected, on application to M. Larruleta, Esq., Jungypore.

List of Tablets in the Jungypore Toll Office :—

To the Memory of Lieutenant O. B. Thomas, 19th Regiment, N.I.

Ditto ditto of Evan Law, Esq., of the H. C. Civil Service.

Ditto ditto of George James, the infant son of Lieutenant-Colonel Allen Cameron, 3rd Buffs.

Ditto ditto of Constantine Joseph Jordon.

Ditto ditto of Mrs. T. Catornia, Junior.

Ditto ditto of John Blackmore Dorrett.

Ditto ditto of Edward Parry Woodcock, born 29th September 1835, died 5th August 1836.

(Sd.) J. LANG, *Captain*,

Officiating Superintendent, N.R.

KRISHNAGHUR, 23rd February, 1848.

The above list should be of some interest as the names it contains are to be found neither in the *Bengal Obituary*, nor perhaps in any other compilation. "Evan" Law may be Ewan Law, of the Honorable Company's a George Ewan Law, of the same Service, buried in South Park Street

Civil Service, who died at an early age on December 19, 1818. There is Cemetery, Calcutta (1820). Mrs. T. "Catornia," Jr., should be Mrs. T. *Catania*, Jr. Mr. Catania was for some years in the service of the King of Oudh at Lucknow, and married (as his second wife, it is believed) Miss Fenwick of Calcutta. Interesting as it is to have a list of those buried at Jangipur, it would scarcely be less interesting to know what became of all the tablets there.

E. W. M.

E. W. M. sends the following note in continuation of his article on "Old St. James's" in the April number of *Bengal: Past and Present*.

The Church fell in August 1858, but on which particular day of the week or at what hour it is not certain. A lady has since written to say it was on a Monday (August 23rd ?), at about 4 A.M. As to the hour she is very likely to be correct, for in this connection it will be remembered that the versical chronicler wrote: "But, *in a night*, plinth, jetting, frieze are gone!" To the list of the churches in or about Calcutta, which are no longer in existence, may be added two Chapels belonging to the London Missionary Society at Coolie Bazar now known as Hastings. In 1837 a bungalow chapel was erected on the site afterwards occupied by the Conductors' Barracks. As this was found too small a *pucca* chapel was next built, and was opened for public worship on New Year's Day, 1847. The ground upon which this second chapel stood being required by Government the latter gave compensation to the amount of Rs. 3,000, as well as the fine site on what is now known as Bridge Road, where the present chapel (a more commodious building) stands. It was opened in 1855. The "Seaman's Church," once served by the well known Father Hopkins, was originally, and has once more become, a Government godown. Two tablets, which used to be on its walls, have been erected on the walls of St. Stephen's Church, Kidderpore. Then there was the small chapel in Chitpore, opened by Mr. Petruse, an Armenian, for Dissenters (1806).

To revert to the Rev. R. B. Boswell. After the death of his first wife he remarried, at Calcutta, October 21, 1834. His second lady was Miss Susan Anne Carnegie, the daughter of a Major-General in the Bengal Army. In consequence of his intended departure on furlough, the parishioners met and presented him with a Bible (January 7, 1843); but, as is well known, Mr. Boswell returned to St. James's where he laboured for many years longer. The foundation-stone of the "Boswell Hall Literary Institution" was laid by Bishop Cotton on February 2, 1865. A Fancy-Fair on its behalf had been held during the November previous. Among other comparatively interesting names borne on the Baptismal Registers is that of

Susan Frederica, the youngest daughter of Lieutenant-General Sir Gabriel Martindell, K.C.B. She was born at Cawnpore in 1826, baptised here in 1833, and, according to an announcement in the *Friend of India* of January 21, 1841, she was, on the 12th idem, married at Calcutta to Mr. H. G. Madge. Old St. James's registers also record (1850) the baptism of Cecil George, son of the eminent financier, Sir George Welsh Kellner, K.C.M.G., C.S.I., and Caroline (*neé* Gardener) his (first) wife. The young man returned to India as a barrister, but died at Maimausingh in his thirtieth year.

One of our members, who is at present on furlough in Europe, writes to say that he hopes shortly to have the pleasure of calling upon M^{lle} Amélie Allard, who is in her seventy-ninth year and resides at San Tropez (near Hyères) in France. The lady is the second daughter of Jean Francois Allard one of Ranjit Singh's famous "white generals," regarding whom Mr. K. N. Dhar wrote in the *Journal* of December 22, 1907. Allard died in 1839. His daughter possesses a large collection of her father's letters, which, if published, would no doubt throw a flood of light on the Court life of Lahore. The same correspondent, writing from Naples, mentions the following Anglo-Indians who are buried in the Protestant cemetery there: Colonel Monier Williams (Surveyor-General of Bombay), father of Sir Monier Williams; Cracroft, a Bengal Civilian;* Colonel West, late President at Kathiawar, and Colonel Taylor, an old Madras Staff Corps officer. Quite apart from these, perhaps the most eminent person buried there is Mrs. Mary Somerville, the mathematician and astronomer (1780-1872). At Leghorn is interred Tobias Smollett the novelist (1721-71).

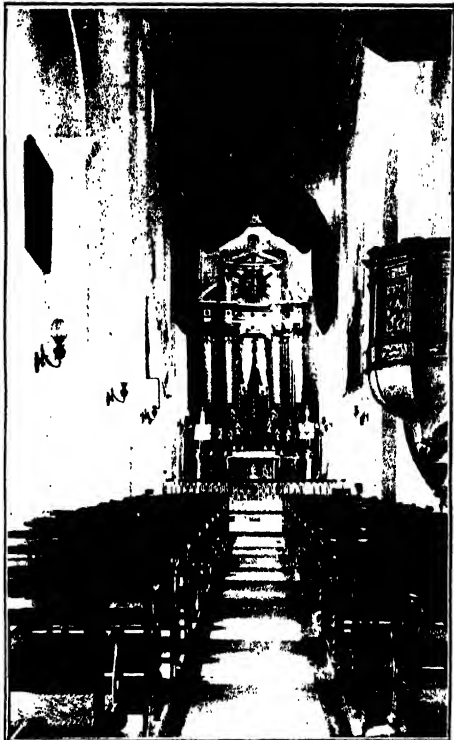
"Fitzwalter" writes as follows:—In Mr. Denny's long and interesting "Note on the Rev. Paul Limrick and the Limrick Family," in the last number of *Bengal: Past and Present*, it is stated that the Rev. P. Limrick "had issue two sons and four daughters." Of these the names, with particulars regarding each, are given. There was, however, another daughter regarding whom all mention is omitted. She was named Elizabeth and died in infancy. The following inscription in the old Barrackpore cemetery is quoted at page 161 of M. DeRozario's *Complete Monumental Register* (Calcutta, 1815):—

Here lie the remains of
ELIZABETH,
Daughter of the Rev. P. LIMRICK,
who died on the
8th of August 1796.
Aged 2 years.

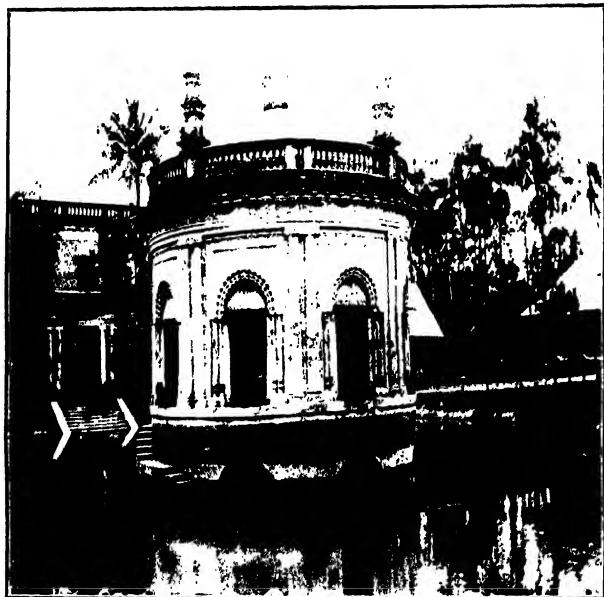
* Probably William Cracroft who had been Civil and Sessions Judge of Dacca, and retired in 1840.



GRAVE OF COL. FORSTER.
(Photo by R. P. Anderson, Esq.)



INTERIOR OF BANDEL CHURCH.
(Photo by R. P. Anderson, Esq.)



"FORSTER'S FOLLY," BHOWANIPUR.
(Photo by R. P. Anderson, Esq.)

It may be noted that the above inscription is not included in the *Bengal Obituary* (1848, 51); neither will it be found in C. R. Wilson's *List of Inscriptions on Tombs and Monuments, Bengal* (1895), nor in J. Ventham's *Chanak Kabarstan or Barrackpore Epitaphs* (1894). I was unsuccessful in finding any trace of the grave, so presume the inscription must have disappeared some time before the publication of the *Bengal Obituary* sixty years ago. The writer has also omitted to mention the date of *Padre* Limrick's appointment by the Court of Directors, *viz.*, March 28, 1788.

To Mr. R. P. Anderson (late of Messrs. Shaw, Wallace and Company), who left Calcutta by the S.S. *Nile* on the 6th May last, we are indebted for three interesting photographs. One of these represents the interior of the Bandel Church, which is too well known to need any further description in these pages. An illustrated account of Bandel appeared in the *Empress* some time last year. The two remaining photographs are of "Forster's Folly" and of Colonel H. Forster's monument respectively.

The "Folly" may be described as a circular summerhouse built in the centre of a tank at Bhowanipur. It stands near the entrance of Russa Road, North (No. 7), almost facing the L.M.S. Institution, and exactly opposite the late Justice Dwarkanath Mitter's house. It is known to the natives as *Jol Tungi*. The Kalighat tramway line runs by it. Long ago the people of Calcutta used to resort there for moonlight picnics, but it has been the property of an Indian gentleman for many years past.

According to rumour it was constructed by Mr. Henry Pitts Forster, B.C.S., as a pleasure house for his wife, a *Jât* lady. There are residential quarters in the grounds. H. P. Forster, who died in 1815, held the position of Mint Master. Although the place is called "Forster's Folly" the man himself was anything but a fool. Besides being a fine amateur painter, he was well known in his day as an Orientalist. He published "A Vocabulary, English and Bongalee (*sic*) and Vice Versa" in two large quarto volumes (1799), and it is said to have been largely through his exertions that Bengali became the official and literary language of the Province.

The next picture represents the monument, in Lower Circular Road Cemetery, to the memory of his son, Colonel Henry Forster, C.B. (1793-1862). It was he who raised the Shekhawati Brigade (now 13th Rajputs), and it will be remembered that on the 20th December last a picturesque ceremony took place at his grave, which was described at pages 184-185 of our April number. Suffice it to add that the monument has recently been repaired at the expense of the officers of the 13th Rajputs and that Colonel W. Prior's history of that regiment is now out of press. Shortly after the Mutiny Colonel Forster was appointed

Commissioner of Sambalpore, and arrived there on March 29, 1858, under a salute of thirteen guns. A correspondent of the *Bengal Harkaru* reported that when this salute was fired the poor Ooriahs, who had heard one for the first time, were terrified, thinking the world was at an end ! Again, the Sambalpore correspondent records that when Colonel Forster left that station for England (August 17, 1858) his regiment was greatly distressed at parting from him. "I don't think" (says the writer) "I ever witnessed a more affecting scene in my life than what occurred at the time he was leaving. The Shekhawatis cried like children. They say they have lost their father, &c., &c." No wonder the old Colonel was popular, if it be true that one of his hobbies was making presents to all the little ones of his acquaintance, including even his sepoy's children !

By an unfortunate oversight, the concluding portion of the note contributed by Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford to our January number was omitted while our pages were in the press. As two of the subjects touched upon by the Colonel have been dealt with elsewhere in *Bengal : Past and Present*, the concluding portion of his notes is given in a slightly abridged form. It reads on from page 118.

This break southwards of the Damudar must have taken place some centuries ago, at least two centuries. But for a long time after the first break southwards, at Sulalpur, the Damudar still continued to flow into the Hughli at Nayasarai ; but after a very circuitous, instead of a straight course. Leaving the present bed about Salimabad in Burdwan district, it followed the course of the stream now known as the Kana Nadi, flowing south and a little east, turning eastwards a little north of Tarakeswar, thence flowing eastwards to Gopalnagar, near Singur, then turning abruptly northwards again, and flowing north and a little east to Magra ; thence eastwards for two miles from Magra to Nayasarai. From either Sulalpur, at the southward bend, or from Salimabad, five or six miles south of Sulalpur, to Nayasarai is about 27 miles in a straight line. From Salimabad to Nayasarai by the circuitous course of the Kana Nadi is about 45 miles, not counting minor twists and turns, which would probably add 15 or 20 miles more. This appears to have been the course of the Damudar up to the middle of the eighteenth century. The actual date of the break south into its present channel is said to have been 1762. In Rennell's *Atlas of Hindustan*, published in 1781, the Damudar is shown in its present bed. The Kana Nadi is called the "Old Dummoodah."

In the seventeenth century the Damudar is frequently called the "Moundelgat" (Mandal Ghat) river.

The Kana Nadi, which is also called the Kunti Khal or Kunti Nadi, and, at its mouth, the Magra Khal, is still a fairly big stream. It is crossed by

large bridges on the roads from Haripal to Dhaniakhali, Chinsurah to Dhaniakhali, Hughli to Polba; by the Grand Trunk Road at Magra and by the East Indian Railway just north of Magra Station, and the Bengal Provincial Railway a little east of Magra. The Hughli-Kalna road crosses it by a very large suspension bridge near its mouth. This bridge is visible from the Hughli river. The remains of an old bridge may also be seen close by.

It is navigable by large country boats from the Hughli up to Magra at all states of the tide in the rains and at high tide at other times of the year. It is not fordable, as a rule, not so much from the depth of water as from the deep sticky mud in its bed.

The Damudar now carries down little or no water through Hughli district in the hot weather. At best it dwindles down to a stream a few yards wide and a few inches deep, connecting long pools, in which the water is deeper and broader. On the 28th April 1904 I found the Damudar ford between Chapadanga and Pussura on the old Benares road absolutely dry.

Most of the water which flows past Burdwan in the Damudar now passes through the Begna Mohana breach in the eastern embankment and joins the Muneswari river which flows into the Rupnarayan at Ranichak.

Page 167. Hospital. You are quite right in saying that the native hospital, existing in 1792, was the precursor of the present Mayo Hospital not of the Medical College Hospital. I was wrong.

In Kenneth McLeod's *History of the Medical Schools of the Bengal Presidency*, Calcutta, 1872, it is stated (page 11) that a small inpatient hospital, with an outdoor dispensary, in connection with the new Medical College (opened 1835) was opened on 1st April 1838. A larger hospital accommodating 70 to 100 sick was opened in 1839.

Page 202. Dr. Tyso Saul Hancock. I can give the following notes about him.

30th April 1751. Appointed Head Surgeon at Devecottah (name spelt Hendcock, Fort St. David Consultations, Vol. XIX, pp. 111-114).

31st October 1754. To succeed next after Mr. James Wilson on this coast (name spelt Handcock, Madras Public Consultations, Vol. LXXXIII, pp. 675-683).

7th September 1753. Dr. Hancock at Fort St. David, various letters from him (Fort St. David Consultations, Vol. XX, pp. 251-255).

23rd June 1758. Mr. T. S. Hancock, late Surgeon of Fort St. David, to be one of the Company's Surgeons at the Presidency (*i.e.* Madras) (Madras Public Consultations, Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 125-126).

12th June 1759. Permission to Mr. Hancock to remove to Bengal (Madras Public Consultations, Vol. LXXXIX, pp. 204-205).

3rd July 1759. Entertainment of Mr. Hancock as Surgeon at Fort William (Letter of 21st August 1759 from Fort William. Letters to Fort St. George, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 94-95).

November 1761. Resigned on account of ill health (Letter from Bengal, 12th November 1761, para. 101).

November 1770. Appointed supernumerary at the Presidency, but not to rise (Letter from Bengal, 25th November 1770, para. 56).

In a series of papers in the India Office, *Home Series, Miscellaneous 1758*, is a list of Surgeons serving in India in 1749, with some annotations, more or less bringing it up to date, from 1749 to 1758. In this list are four "Surgeon's mates at Fort St. David in 1748," one of whom is Saul Hencock. This gives a date three years earlier than the first of the notes above, Hancock's first appointment in India.

Hancock is mentioned as a friend of Hastings in S.C. Grier's *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, but I have not kept a note of the exact circumstances.

Page 197. *William Pitts*. Married the widow of Gabriel Boughton, see *Hedges' Diary*, Vol. III, p. 188, rather an amusing quotation, I could quote it at length if you like.

"K. N. D." writes as follows:—In the last number of *Bengal: Past and Present* I observe three excellent photographs of the Patna cemetery by Mr. P. A. Selfe and Mr. A. de Cosson. In each of these pictures perhaps the most noticeable feature is a lofty column regarding which I now beg leave to offer a description. This column is 70 ft. high and is peculiarly constructed. The footings are three steps which lead to a broad base about 20 ft. high. The shaft has six projecting rims, at a distance of about 4 ft. from each other, and the whole is crowned with a lofty urn on a pedestal. The lowest step at the base is about 8 ft. square. The column, which has been called the "Black Hole of Patna," commemorates the massacre of the victims of Sumroo. Subjoined is a copy of the inscription on a marble tablet on its eastern face.

In Memory of
First-Lieutenants RICHARD PERRY and
GEORGE HOCKLER ;
Lieutenant Fireworkers JOHN BROWN,
ARDEAN DECKERS, JOHN READ, and
BENJAMIN ADAMSON,
Of the Honourable East India Company's
Artillery :

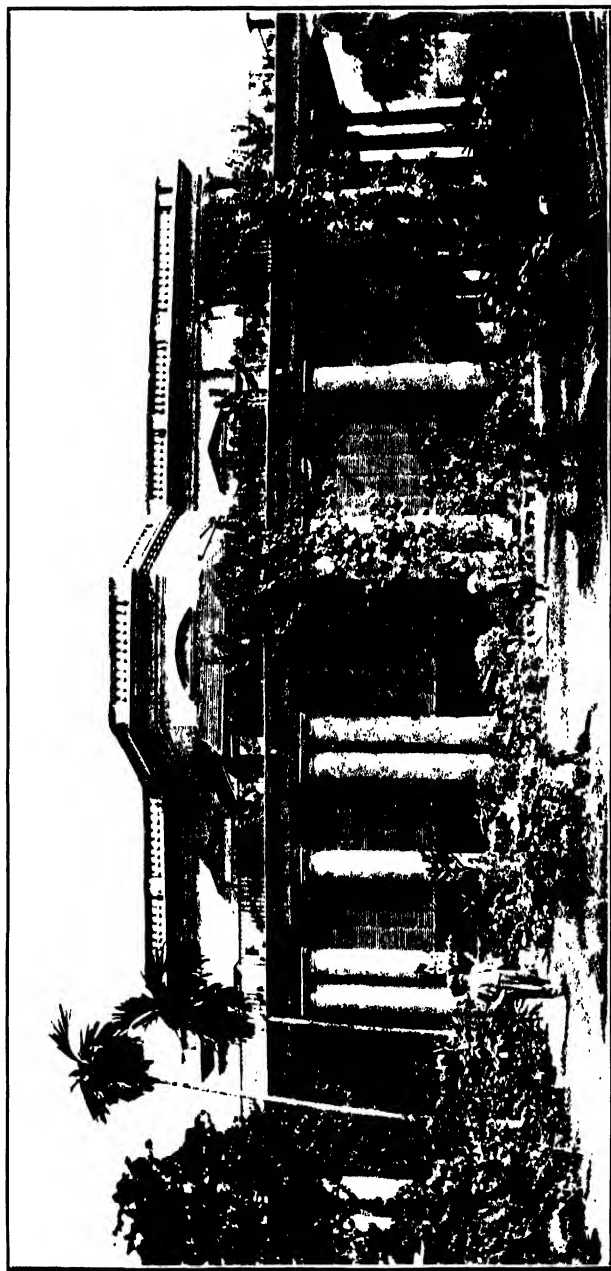
Captains CHARLES ERNEST
 JOECHER, HENRY SOMMERS,
 JAMES TABBY
 and GEORGE WILSON ;
 Lieutenants RICHARD HOLLAND,
 GEORGE ALSTON
 and Sir WILLIAM HOPE, Baronet ;
 Ensigns JOHN GREENTREE, ROBERT ROBERTS,
 DUNCAN MACLEOD, WILLIAM CRAWFORD,
 WILLIAM HINCLES, ISAAC HUMPHRIES, JOHN
 ROBERT ROACH, JOHN PERRY and
 WALTER MACKEY,
 Of the Hon'ble East India Company's
 Infantry :
 Doctors CAMPBELL and ANDERSON ;
 Messrs. HAY, ELLIS and LUSHINGTON,
 Servants of the Honourable East India Company
 Who,
 With many other captives of inferior rank,
 Were,
 On the nights of the 5th or 6th and 11th October 1763,
 Brutally massacred near this spot,
 By the troops of MIR KASIM ALI NAWAB SUBAHIDAR,
 of Bengal,
 Under command of
 WALTER REINHARDT, *alias* SUMROO,
 a base renegade.
"E dedecore hostium nata est gloria eorum."

It is well-known that before the days of the Suez Canal John Company's servants had to come and go round the Cape of Good Hope. Such being the case, it is quite understandable that several old Civilians and Soldiers, while journeying home in quest of health, left their bones at Cape Town. The old cemeteries there having fallen into a ruinous condition, it is now proposed by the local authorities to clear and transform them into city parks. The *Pioneer* of the 1st June draws attention to three persons buried there and expresses the reasonable hope that their names may be preserved by some permanent record before their tombs are levelled. The names are Richard Chicheley Plowden whose monument is described as a "graceful structure of brick and mortar;" Philip Yorke Lindsay, son of a Bishop of Kildare ; and Joseph Lusson, an Agent of the Company. Regarding R. C.

Plowden it may be added that he was for some time Secretary to the Board of Trade and that the last appointment he held was that of Salt Agent at Hijli. He died on the 14th July 1825. A record of his services will be found in Dodwell and Miles' *Alphabetical List of Bengal Civil Servants*. P. Y. Lindsay was Superintendent of Salt Golahs, at Sulkea before he died on the 18th December 1833. He had held for some time the post of Collector of Mymensing and had also acted as Mint Master at Calcutta. His father was the Hon'ble Charles Dalrymple Lindsay, Bishop of Killaloe from 1804 to 1846, and (as may be gathered from Haydn's *Book of Dignities*) it was after his death that the See was absorbed by the Archbishopric of Dublin. The name Luson is one that still appears in the list of Bengal Civil Servants.

K. N. D.

With reference to the view in this issue of 25, Mangoe Lane it may not be generally known that this house (now tenanted by Messrs. Lyall, Marshall & Co. and, on the upper flat, by Messrs. Lovelock and Lewes) has an interesting history. In the 'seventies, the building was occupied by Messrs. Carlisles, Nephews and Co. The great banking establishment of Barretto Co., which failed in 1827, was formerly located here. The house is one of the few that had a treasure-vault, now disappeared; but in the upper flat may be seen a curious stunted door (studded with flat knobs) which, in the words of a recent writer, "leads to nowhere in particular, but when closed hints at great possibilities." The Barretto family is one of ancient Portuguese origin and two of its members, *viz.*, Francesco Barretto (1555-1558) and Antonio Moniz Barretto (1573-76) were Viceroys of the Portuguese possessions in India. Joseph Barretto, who died on the 25th September 1824, aged 74 years 8 months, was a merchant prince of Calcutta. He enjoyed so great a reputation for wealth that he was accredited by some of the natives with the power of transmuting base metals into gold. He was also a Persian scholar and edited for some time the *Shamsullughat*. The Roman Catholic Cathedral in Moorghihatta (the foundation-stone of which was laid on 12th March 1797, followed by the consecration and dedication to the *Virgin Mary of Rosary* on 27th November 1799) owes its establishment largely to his munificence, and his name is commemorated by a tablet under the portico of the grand entrance. He purchased for Rs. 8,000 the plot of land just north of the Sealdah Railway Station now known as the Portuguese (St. John's Roman Catholic) Cemetery at Baitakhana (No. 307, Upper Circular Road) and, as may be gathered from the inscription over the signature of the Vicar and three Wardens on a "monument" in the cemetery, presented it on the 8th February 1786 as an asylum for departed Roman



THE HOUSE OF THE BAKRETS, 25, MANGOE LANE.

Catholics. He also acquired as a pleasure resort, some land in Sooksagar (the "Ocean of Delight"), once well-known as the country residence of Warren Hastings. There Barretto lived like a prince, and built a Roman Catholic Chapel for the use of his family, but his successor, M. Lauraletta, a Spaniard, noted for his hospitality and sporting propensities, converted it into an abode for *mahouts* and fighting cocks! Joseph made many roads there and planted them with *nim* trees. In 1792, he had a rum distillery there as also sugar works and the place was called Chota Calcutta in his time. House and estate have long since been washed away by the river, but pictures of Sooksagar House and Ruins appear in Colesworthy Grant's "Rural Life in Bengal."* From an original receipt kindly placed at our disposal by Mr. P. Maguire, it appears that in August, 1811, a parcel of land adjoining Tiretta's Bazar was sold by Joseph Barretto to Messrs. Fairlie Ferguson & Co. for about sicca rupees 2,000. The plot was estimated to be over nine cottahs and was bounded on the north by Barretto's Bazar, on the south and west by De l'Etang's Repository and on the east by Chhattawalla Gully. The land, it is interesting to add, really belonged to the Rev. William Johnson (the husband of Begum Johnson) who in 1788 had returned to England leaving his spouse behind him. The Armenian Ghat of the present day was known as Barretto's Ghat in 1793, and Barretto's Lane, which runs between Mangoe Lane and British Indian Street, was, of course, named after the family. Joseph had a brother named Luis who died at the age of 61, on the 3rd September 1806. He is buried in the Moorghihatta Roman Catholic Cathedral along with his wife Deodata Barretto and his son John who died prematurely on 3rd April 1813, when he was only 20 years old. This young man had bequeathed no less than five lakhs of rupees for distribution among religious and charitable institutions. A daughter of Luis and Deodata Barretto, Pascoa by name, married Thomas de Souza, and became the foundress of the Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Dharamtala (1832). She died in 1856 at the age of 81. This lady was the

* It was of Sooksagar House that a perhaps all too serious writer wrote in 1829 after a visit to its deserted shell.

"How frightful a silence still reigns through the place"

"As in mockery misnamed 'of Delight'!"

"Of the glee of the living no vestige I trace"

"'Tis the tomb of the dead meets my sight."

"'Twas the sea of false pleasure expensive and gay,"

"Where breezes enchanting impel,"

"Where beams and bright hope on the surface may play"

"Where beneath yawns the dark gulf of Hell."

Other verses of this sombre literary effort may be found on page 175 of the last volume of *Bengal: Past and Present*.

paternal grandmother of the well-known philanthropists, Laurence Augustus and Sir Walter de Souza.

K. N. D.

Mr. Herbert A. Stark. sends the following extracts relative to Calcutta thoroughfares :—

" Though there is no public regulation or agreement for lighting the town of Calcutta, we are happy to observe that lights are springing slowly up here and there, which by the power of example may by-and-bye spread widely over the town. At the Government house gate lamps have been suspended which throw out a cheerful light across the street, and relieve the obscurity of Esplanade Row, and that angle where the road from the Town Hall joins the course. In Chowringhee too we have observed lamps lighted at the gate of some two or three private mansions."—*India Gazette* (1822).

" On Friday evening, about sunset, the beautiful steam engine erected at Chandpaul Ghat for watering the streets of Calcutta was put in motion for the first time."—*Bengal Harkaru* (4th November 1822).

In 1823, the Lottery Committee widened and drained certain streets, and removed from the neighbourhood of Wellington Square "an assemblage of the most filthy huts inhabited by lascars." In the same year the Strand Road was made by the Committee for improving the City.

Garrison Order.—H. E. the Most Noble Governor-General is pleased to direct that in future "Velocipedes" shall not be permitted to enter the Respondentia Walk (Nov. 23, 1819). [*N.B.*—This Walk was between the Fort and Chandpaul Ghat.]

Mr. H. Brown of Messrs. Burn & Co. writes from Edinburgh :—Captain Robert Bruce Swinton of the Berkshire Regiment whose sudden death was announced in 1904 was the only surviving son of Major William Bentick Swinton, Madras Light Cavalry (killed in India in 1876), by Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Cadell of Ratho, Midlothian (Cadets of the Cadells of Cockenzie). Major Swinton was the grandson of John Swinton of that ilk (one of the Senators of the College of Justice under the title of Lord Swinton) by his son George Swinton, Chief Secretary to the Governor-General of India. Captain Swinton's elder brother was killed in action in Egypt in 1885. The Swintons of that ilk are an ancient Saxon family who took their surname from the Barony of Swinton, County Berwick. Edulf de Swinton of Swinton was seated there in the eleventh century in the reigns of Macbeth and Malcolm III. His son Liulf, living under King Edgar, was the father of Udard de Swinton, Sheriff of Berwick when Alexander I was David King, and a charter obtained by his successor Hernulf de Swinton from David I (who died in 1153), is still to be seen in the archives of the Chapter of Durham,

Sir Alan de Swinton obtained a charter of the Barony of Swinton from the Prior of Coldingham in the reign of William the Lion, and his son Alan was a benefactor of that religious house. Henry of Swinton swore fealty to Edward I at Berwick in 1296—as did so many other Scots. Charters are still preserved amongst the family papers, in connection with the estate of Swinton, which were confirmed by Robert II in 1382, and ratified by a Bull of Pope Clement III, dated Avignon, 1383. Sir John Swinton was a man of note, a soldier, and a statesman in the reigns of the second and third Roberts, and a great favourite of both these Kings. To his bravery at the battle of Otterburn in 1388, where he was high in command, the Scots were largely indebted for the victory which they gained there notwithstanding the death of the Douglas. This gallant soldier met a heroic death at Homildon as readers of Sir Walter Scott will remember.

By his wife, a daughter of Robert II, was born his successor, also Sir John Swinton of that ilk equally distinguished as a soldier as was his father.

This Sir John Swinton was one of the contingent of Scots who crossed to France and fought the English there. At the battle of Baugé he unhorsed and slew the Duke of Clarence, brother of Henry V, and at the battle of Verneuil he met his own death. His son again, Sir John Swinton, died in 1493 and was the father of John Swinton of that ilk who was Warden *Député* of the East Marches under Queen Mary, and the father of his successor Sir John Swinton, whose grandson, Sir Alexander Swinton, was Sheriff of Berwick. One of Sir Alexander's younger sons was killed at Worcester (where he fought on the King's side) while attempting to carry off Cromwell's standard. Sir Alexander's eldest son and successor, John, was also at the battle of Worcester, but only as a spectator, he having been carried a prisoner to England by Cromwell.

Sir Alexander suffered forfeiture of his estates, which however were restored to his son (whose mother was a daughter of Lord Blantyre), Sir John Swinton of that ilk in 1690. This Sir John resided in Holland during the forfeiture. He was a member of the Union Parliament, and a man of note. Probably the fact of greatest interest that can be stated about him is that his eldest daughter, Jean Swinton, who married Professor John Rutherford, was the grandmother of Sir Walter Scott. In his drama of "Haledon Hill" Scott had therefore for its subject an ancestor as well as a Scottish hero. Sir John Swinton died in 1724, and was succeeded by his son John, a member of the Scottish bar, and father of that Scottish Judge Lord Swinton (died 1799), who, as already shown was the grandfather of Captain Swinton whose death is recorded above. Archibald Swinton, the founder of Burn & Co., Calcutta, was the fourth son of John Swinton of Swinton and went to India in or about 1752.

The present head of this family is John Edulf Balgrave Swinton of that ilk, born 1864, whose residence is Swinton Bank, Peebles, and at Edinburgh and London. I have just had the pleasure of an interview on the above subjects with the present head of this illustrious family.

Of Henry Derozio, Bengala's youthful bard, more than one leading English critic—Mr. George Saintsbury and Mr. W. M. Rossetti, for instance,—has written kindly. Derozio would appear to have found his latest admirer in Mr. E. F. Oaten whose "Sketch of Anglo-Indian Literature" (Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1908) gained the Le Bas prize last year. In the course of a letter addressed to a person at Calcutta, Mr. Oaten adds :—

" * * * I am very much attracted by that remarkable man's character and attainments. Genius, they say, ripens early and dies early in India ; but I cannot but think that the bloom of promise which the spring of Derozio's life put forth would have borne yet nobler fruit had a summer or autumn of life been granted him. If my poor work serves in any degree to rescue Derozio's poems from undeserved oblivion, I shall be amply repaid."



Some Transactions of the Calcutta Historical Society.

THE ANNUAL MEETING.



THE first Annual General Meeting of the Society was held on the 28th January 1908, in the Hall of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the President, the Hon. Sir Francis Maclean, being in the chair. There was a good attendance. Sir Francis pleasantly commented on the termination of a successful period of working. The report and audited accounts were presented and passed, and office-bearers elected for the year 1908. A *verbatim* report of the proceedings, with the report and accounts and a full list of members, has been separately circulated.

CHANDERNAGORE.

*Dane and Dutchman, each rebelling,
Dipped his flag and left the fray,
Silver convent bells are knelling
(Fleurs-de-lys',) o'er-shadowed day—
But fair England's banners swelling
Star the wondrous waterway.*

*Dead Ghyretty's pictured ceiling
Sleeps beneath the jungle shade,
By the serpent-track revealing
Cornice-wreck and balustrade,
And the ghosts go ever stealing
Down the wind-bit esplanade.*

*Tranquebar's pale Danish daughter,
Aureole-tressed and violet eyed,
Laughs towards the shadowy water
Where the dim feelchehras ride—
'Ere fell Philip's kiss had sought her,
'Ere she posed a prince's bride.*

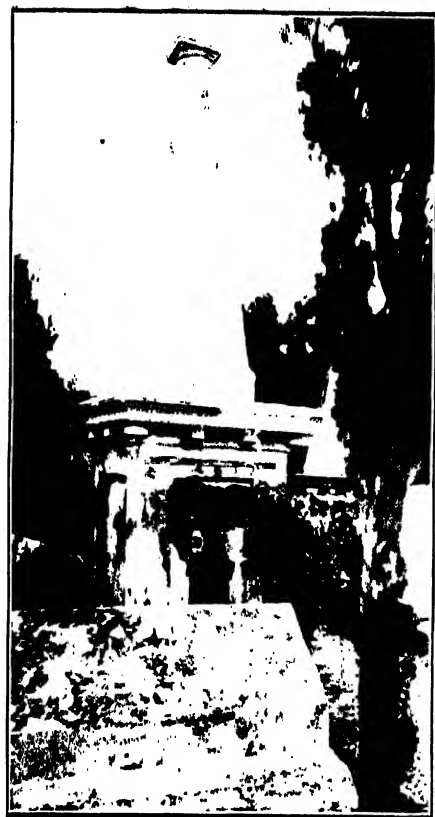
*Comes Dupleix—Dupleix forgetting—
 (West and East, but France as lord,—
 Sun-dream with a cloud-wrapped setting)
 Grasping still a broken sword
 To a note of wailed regretting
 Wrung from some hid harpsichord. DÂK (in the Empire.)*

The festival of *Dashahara*, a general holiday, on Tuesday, the 9th June 1908, afforded another opportunity for an excursion; the French settlement of Chandernagore was, on this occasion, selected as the objective of the party. The *Jainti* was again requisitioned; and, with the Society's flag at the fore, and a large party of members and their friends on board, she left Mirbahar Ghât (above Bridge) shortly after 11 A.M. The weather served admirably; the Palace Hotel Co., as usual, provided substantial and acceptable refreshments. The bookstall amidships did a good business in the sale of the C.H.S.'s and other publications of local historical interest. Mr. Mitchell the new Secretary, was deservedly congratulated upon the result of his maiden endeavours to make the day the pleasing and instructive success it proved to be.

It is worthy of note that the C.H.S. has now visited all places of interest in Bengal (with the exception of the Budge-Budge district) usually associated in history with the personality and exploits of Clive.

The southern confines of the last of the Hughli's European settlements other than British were reached as tiffin was in progress, and the good ship slid past the wooded territory in the recesses of which lie the ruins of the once magnificent French Palace at Ghyretty. Chandernagore reached, the party, on landing at the principal ghat in the centre of the Esplanade met with a hearty welcome from a representative gathering of our gallant neighbours, who brought a message of greeting from M. Guizonier, the Administrateur. A cordial reception by the Maire, M. Leon Tardivel, followed, and introductions were made to Messrs. J. E. and A. Lehureau, F. Chrestien, and other residents. Mr. E. W. Madge, of the Imperial Library, Calcutta, had preceded the travellers by train, and met the steamer at the landing stage. Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford joined the party later on. A sufficing supply of *ticca gharries* was provided by the courtesy of the Maire.

A short drive, skirting the "*Lal Dighi*" tank, led to the Cemetery, to the north-west of the present town, and the Mr. Madge, plan in hand, pointed out the chief monuments of historical interest. Mr. Madge's knowledge of the cemeteries of Bengal is "extensive and peculiar:" what he either does not know or is unwilling to impart to his fellow members may be dismissed



CHANDERNAGORE CEMETERY
(Photo by A. Adayman, Esq.)



TOMB OF J. M. R. MICHELET,
 Chirurgien Mayor de Chandernagore.
(Photo by A. Adayman, Esq.)

from the mind as unknowable. His careful study of the *Campo Santo* of Chandernagore afforded those who had the good fortune to be present a unique opportunity for seeing all that is best worth seeing in this resting city of the living who have died.

The most interesting inscription is perhaps the one in the mortuary chapel to a lady of the Worlee (Werlée, Varlé, or Verlé) family. A tablet to another member of the family may be seen at the entrance to the chapel. Among others buried here are Captain Bourgoin, Knight of St. Louis and of the Legion of Honor, and Chief of the Settlement of Cossimbazar; Chevalier Doyot, Intendant-General of the French settlements in Bengal; J. Piaggio, late Mahratta Officer; the widow of Dr. B. Hartley (the name recalling "Hartly House"); Chevalier de Jancigny, the Orientalist; Eugene Courjon "Prince de Chandernagore"; Miss Alice Rattray, the daughter of Robert Haldane Rattray, a well known Bengal Civilian; E. W. Hollingbery, a member of an old Calcutta family; Henry Piddington, a Meteorological writer, who invented the word "Cyclone;" the Rev. R. Bland, Chaplain of Gowhati; Felix Niel, Acting Administrator, and last, but not least, Jules de Momet, "a brave soldier of the first Napoleon." There is also in the cemetery a nameless dwarf pillar over the grave of Major Walter Key Haslewood, erected, it is said, by a *kapra-wallah*, Kala Chand.

The most ancient inscription, bearing date 1753, is in Armenian; a rubbing of it has been sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal for its archives.

The site of Fort St. Orleans was next visited. As in the case of Old Fort William, and also the barracks at Berhampur, Fort Orleans stood between a large tank and the river. In June 1756, when Renault, the Chief of Chandernagore, foresaw trouble ahead, and was beginning to make preparations, he described the Fort as—

"Almost in the middle of the settlement, surrounded by houses, which command it, a square of about 600 feet, built of brick, flanked with four bastions, with six guns each without ramparts or glacis. The southern curtain, about four feet thick, not raised to its full height, was provided only with a battery of four guns; there was a similar battery to the west, but the rest of the west curtain was only a wall of mud and brick, about a foot and a half thick, and eight or nine feet high; there were warehouses ranged against the east curtains which faced the Ganges and which were still in process of construction; the whole of this side had no ditch, and that round the other sides are dry, only four feet in depth and a mere ravine. The walls of the Fort up to the ramparts were fifteen feet high, and the houses on the edge of the counterscarp, which commanded it, were as much as 30 feet."

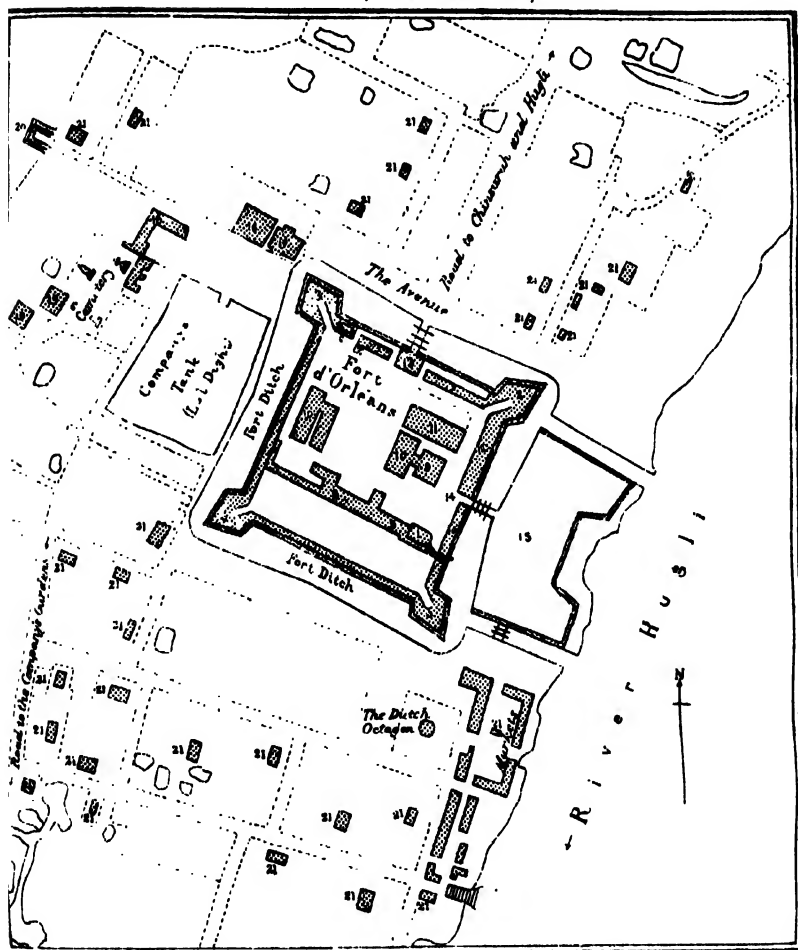
By way of strengthening his feeble position, Renault, as he says, "commenced to pull down the church and the house of the Jesuit Fathers, situated on the edge of the ditch, also all the houses of private persons which masked the entire north curtain." It should never be forgotten that in this Jesuit house, thus dismantled, died one of the greatest of those admirable and perfectly amazing Jesuit missionaries. For the story of the heroic career of Bishop François Laynez we must consult the work of the Rev. Father Auguste Jean *Le Madure : L'Ancienne et La Nouvelle Mission*. Having, it is said, baptized with his own hand no less than 30,000 of the heathen, and travelled on evangelising tours from Trichinopoly to the borders of Tibet, the Bishop died, in the presence of the brethren of his Society, at Chandernagore, on the 11th of June, 1715. His body was in all probability buried before the High Altar at the Jesuit Church. Would it not be possible to make some excavations in order to see whether the pavement of the old sanctuary might not be traced?

Returning to the Fort Orleans, we were able to find some of the brick-work (it runs along the roadside) of the east curtain, which Orme states was thirty yards from the river. Mr. S. C. Hill tells us that the ditch before the west curtain stood twelve feet from the Great Tank. We, thanks to M. Leheureaux, were able to trace the position of the Porte Royale, which faced the road northward to Chinsurah, and was in Renault's opinion on "the weakest side of the Fort." For the narrative of the Siege one must, of course, consult Mr. S. C. Hill's *Three Frenchmen in Bengal*.

The Expedition then drove to the Convent Chapel of the Immaculate Conception. There is a tradition that this edifice was originally an Armenian place of worship, and that it was presented to the Roman Catholic authorities by an Armenian lady convert. We have since learned from M. Leheureaux that it is the old Capuchin Church. The doors of the Chapel bear the date 1722—two years later than Dupleix's arrival at Pondicherry, and nine before his arrival at Chandernagore. It may be supposed that it was to this building that Bishop Heber refers in his *Journal*. "The little Church, which I had seen from the beach, belongs to the 'Tibet Mission,' a branch of that Society 'pro propaganda fide' at Rome which seems to extend its cares all over India" (Vol. i. p. 111).

A visit was paid to the ruins of the Eglise de St. Louis. Mr. Julian Cotton writes in his brother's (H. E. A. Cotton's) book "The present church covers the site of the older Church of St. Louis, where he (Dupleix) married his wife Jeanne, the famous Joanna Begum, from whom he learned the tongues and talents of oriental diplomacy." Here are some mistatements. The original Church of St. Louis was, as the accompanying map will show, within the walls of Fort Orleans. In the Siege of 1757 it bore four guns on its roof.

FORT D'ORLEANS, CHANDERNAGORE, 1749



1. Parish Church of St. Louis.
2. Bastion St. Rose, or du Pavillon.
3. " " des Anges.
4. " " St. Francis.
5. " " St. Joseph.
6. Great Powder Magazine.
7. Little " "

8. Offices.
9. Governor's House.
10. Warehouses.
11. House of Company's Servants.
12. Barracks.
13. Forts Royale.
14. Gates or Water Gate.

15. Hornwork (unfinished).
16. House of the Jesuit Fathers.
17. Church " "
18. Company's Hospital. "
19. Hospital for the Poor.
20. Outpost.
21. European Houses.

(It may be noted that in 1756 there were at least three Churches in Chandernagore—the Parish Church of St. Louis, the Jesuits' Church, and the Capuchin Church). The original St. Louis was destroyed in the Siege: a salt gola to the south of the site of the old Fort was afterwards turned into the second Church of St. Louis. The present Parish Church occupies a site still more to the south; after visiting the ruined gateway of the second *Eglise de St. Louis*, we crossed the road, and visited the fine modern Church of the Sacred Heart. All were impressed by the stateliness and dignity of its interior. It was, at one time, served by the clergy of the excellent *Congregation du S. Esprit et du S. Cœur de Marie*—a missionary body founded by the Venerable Libermann, a converted Jew, who during long years of suffering as a victim to epileptic fits, instituted the great Order, which has done so much noble work for the emancipation, evangelisation, and civilisation of the East African slaves. The statuette of Jean d'Arc, which stands before the Church, was much admired. In the public gardens, close by, we paid the homage of silent respect to Fragel's bust of England's rival Empire-builder, Joseph Francis Dupleix. To aid our memories, let us note that Dupleix was born about seven years after that memorable St. Bartholomew's day, when Charnock made his "mid-day halt," and founded Calcutta.

The *Rue* bearing the name of General Claud Martin keeps alive the memory of another great Frenchman of the brave days of old. Perhaps, however, the fact that the C.H.S. was pressing a foreign soil was best brought home by the purchase at the Post Office of stamps bearing neither the image nor the superscription of H.M. "Edvardus Septimus." A glance at the well advertised Hotels on the river frontage, at the *Conciergerie*, and other public buildings preceded a visit to the residence of the Maire, on the walls of the state room of which a portrait of the late M. Alfred Courjon occupies the place of honour. M. Tardivel in a few kind words proposed "The C.H.S." to which the Rev. W. K. Firminger responded in a speech suitably expressing the pleasure the Maire's hospitality had given his guests. The toast of the *entente cordiale* was enthusiastically drunk by all present in bumpers of unforgettably excellent Sparkling Burgundy.

At the Maire's house were laid out for our inspection the old Register of Marriages. Unfortunately we had not sufficient time to make much use of the rare opportunity so kindly afforded us. We looked at "the act of marriage between Dupleix and his Joanna." The record bears witness that Dupleix had at the time reached the age of forty-three and had attained the position of "President of the Superior Council at Pondicherry, and General Commandant of the French Possessions in India." Madame Dupleix, the daughter of M. Albret, the French Company's surgeon at Pondicherry, had, in the year previous, lost her first husband, M. Vincens, to whom she had borne six

children. Malleson notes "I find it recorded that her wise counsels and her energy sustained her husband in all his trials. She was with him during the whole period of his administration of French India. And when that administration came to a close, she accompanied him to France, to die of the chagrin caused by the injustice meted out to the husband she adored." She was thirty-three years of age at the time of her marriage with Dupleix.

The second entry in this old register of which special note was taken was that of George François Grand with Catherine Noël Werlée. According to the custom of the time, in case of mixed-marriages a double ceremony, first Roman and then Anglican, or the other way about, was held to be necessary. In this case, the pair were, as Mr. Julian Cotton notes, first married "at the uncanonical hour of 1 A.M. at Chandernagore," and the sacred rite was subsequently repeated in a private house at Hughli on 10th July, 1777. This latter ceremony is on the records of St. Johns' Church—"Mr. Francis Grand, writer in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Varle of Chandernagore.—William Johnson, Chaplain." We also noted an entry of minor interest—1768 M. Nicolas to Marie Werlée (a sister of Catherine).

The history of Chandernagore, "the city of sandal wood," vivid with stirring incidents, is softened by the charm of romance. Colonel Malleson in his *History of the French in India** tells the story of the early endeavours of the French to reach India, which date back as far as 1503, and the settlement on the Hughli is mentioned by Streynsham Master in 1676 (Yule gives the date of settlement 1673). The Emperor Aurangzeb confirmed the French in possession in 1688, and, when Captain Alexander Hamilton visited the place early in the eighteenth century, he described the settlers as "for want of money not in a capacity to trade. They have a few private families dwelling near the factory, and a pretty little church to hear Mass in, which is the chief business of the French in Bengal."

Jean François Dupleix, the most skilful opponent of *Messieurs les Anglais* in the East, was the founder of the good fortunes of the settlement. At the time of his arrival, in 1731, its importance was on the decline, but on his departure for Pondicherry, a decade later, its trade is said to have outstripped that of Calcutta, and it then possessed two thousand brick-houses and a population which shortly afterwards exceeded a hundred thousand. On 21st October, 1807, at the "*Jardin de l'Amitié*" died Jean Henri Piron, a soldier of fortune. His epitaph is preserved in the present Parish Church. At Ghyretty House (whose great days were during the Governorship of M. Chevalier 1769 to 1787†)

* A book which recent research has left very far behind the student's requirements.

† These are Mr. Julian Cotton's dates. Chevalier left Bengal in 1778. From 10th July 1778 to 1783, Chandernagore was in the hands of the English.—ED., *Bengal: P. & P.*

the beauty and fashion of Calcutta, Chinsurah, Serampore and Chandernagore were wont to foregather. The glorious villa's noble splendour of staircase and saloon with painted ceilings and wonderful cornices, the finest palace in India, was thought to rival that of Versailles itself; and, on occasions, Warren Hastings, "Junius" Francis, Clavering and others of the *élite* of the English world in the East found pleasure in fraternising at banquet, ball, and rout on terms of the greatest cordiality with their Gallic neighbours. The palace is now a ruin of ruins: the merest traces of it remain, as is evidenced by Mr. Firminger's photograph reproduced in the first number of this Journal—and also in one of the Society's Historical postcards.

It was, as has been seen, at Chandernagore that in 1777 George François Grand, a Swiss in the service of "John Company," wooed and won Catherine Noël, the beautiful daughter of Pierre Verlée, *pilote du Gange*. Tradition gives Tranquebar as her birthplace in 1762, but her girlhood was passed at Chandernagore; her Danish extraction probably accounted for the fairness of complexion of "cette rare et nonchalante beauté Indienne." The 1908 edition of Dr. Busteed's *Echoes of Old Calcutta* contains a portrait by Mdme. Le Brun of the "wife of mighty Talleyrand" which, even more than Gerard's well-known effort, "portrays the wondrous Indian witchery of
"a fairy form

Which took continents by storm."

Elsewhere in this present number will be found the account of a pillage of Chandernagore by "the peons" (armed mercenaries) of either the Nawab of Murshidabad or Patna in 1769. Colonel Pearse's statement is rather vague, but it is certainly illuminating.

But to hark back somewhat: when Suraj-ud-daula marched on Calcutta, he is said to have received from the French 250 barrels of gunpowder, and, in return for which, they were let off with a fine of $3\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of rupees. Frenchmen too served in his artillery at the siege of Fort William. All this, and the fact that a junction between Bussy and the Nawab might have been effected at any time, led Clive to plan the ruin of the French factories. Three British men-of-war sailed up the Hooghly (June 1757) and the French blockaded the channel by sinking ships in the river, but a deserter, Terraneau, pointed out to the English that the channel was passable in spite of the sunken vessels. After a short, but gallant, defence by Pierre Renault the town capitulated. Of Terraneau it is said that he hanged himself, when his aged father, grieved at his conduct, had declined to receive a remittance which he had sent home. The story of the suicide is mythical. Terraneau was alive in 1765. It was at the capture of Fort Orleans that "Billy" Speke, son of the Captain of H.M.S. *Kent* (according to the epitaph in St. John's

Churchyard, Calcutta), "lost his leg and life." The pathetic narrative is one of the valued heirlooms of Calcutta's story.

At the Peace of Paris (1763), Chandernagore was restored to the French on condition that the Fort, which had been demolished, should not be rebuilt nor the place again fortified. So, when a later Governor (M. Chevalier) ordered a deep ditch to be dug round the town, the earth being thrown up to form a rampart, the British sent an Engineer officer with 800 sepoy to fill up the ditch. On war breaking out between the nations in 1778, it was again occupied by the British without opposition, but restored five years later. The French Revolution was in miniature imitated in Chandernagore by the mob going in search of the Governor (M. de Montigny) at his country house, Ghyretty, and bringing him back in triumph to Chandernagore, where he was kept in *durance vile*. Fearing the guillotine, the Governor appealed to the British, who soon quelled the disturbance. According, however, to another version, in the *Calcutta Gazette*, the chief (M. Fumeron) was for many months denied admission to the town by the people, who uniformly resisted his authority. So, "at length, seeing no hope of a change in the sentiments of those over whom he was intended to preside," he quietly embarked from Calcutta for Pondicherry.

Chandernagore was again occupied by the British in 1793, and in that year the *Calcutta Gazette* advertises the sale of some French Government property at the Arsenal, including the State palanquin. The town has remained in the possession of the French since 1816.

In the early sixties of the last century, M. Lepine, the town engineer, levelled the terrain of the Fort, demolishing what remained of the old buildings. He also straightened the boundaries of the Factory tank, and, through the site of the Fort, traced an alley still called "Avenue d'Orleans."

Among the tablets in the Church of the Sacred Heart is one recording the munificence of General Claud Martin, who left Rs. 50,000 in charity for the poor. Another tablet, on the pavement to the south of the church, commemorates Jean Henri Piron, who succeeded Raymond as Commandant-General of the French Corps in the service of the Nizam of Hyderabad, and who is often confused with the more celebrated Pierre Cullier Perron in command of Scindia's army. There are also tablets to Lord William Guillaudeau, of the Senate of the Rhine, Secretary of the King, etc., and to M^{me} Courjon.

The French, who in Bengal still own a few biggahs of land in Balasore, where their old Factory once stood, are wrongly stated by several writers to receive from the British three hundred chests of opium annually on condition that they do not engage in the manufacture of that drug, but the correct facts are that the original privilege was to draw out annually 300 chests of Opium from the Godowns of the British Government in

Calcutta *paying for them at the average rate* of the year's sales. That privilege was put up to auction at Chandernagore and purchased by Marwari speculators, and in the early sixties it realized up to Rs. 30,000; but, with the advent of submarine cables between India and China, the speculations in the drug became difficult and gradually the sale of the French privilege dwindled down to nothing and some years *it wasn't sold at all*. So, somewhere in the eighties, it was mutually agreed that the privilege should be commuted by a yearly payment of Rs. 5,000 from the British Government and the payment to the French Government of an annual sum of Rs. 4,00,000, on condition that they do not engage in the manufacture of salt in the French Settlements of the Coromandel and Malabar coasts.

The *Jainti* has swung round while we are ashore: the return to town in the cool of a cloudy afternoon is all too soon over. It is dusk when we reach the City of Palaces transformed between the twilights into a mighty purple of towered romance. The great warehouses and wharfs, looming up out of the gathering dark, are giants' castles now, and the ghâts leading from the water's edge the stepping-stones of kings. As we anchor, the bridge, black and cold and right to front, bars the way, and Asia is going to and fro up there upon the causeway. Being dusk it is between the twilights, and then, as you know, anything may happen. Who is this that steps out beside us on to the pontoon? Stand aside and let him pass. See how he carries himself with an air, and how courteously he takes our salutes though with a broken sword. Mighty dreamer! Mighty fighter! He has lost all save honour, but, that retained, what *has* he lost! Quick, look back to the river. They are heading for the passage through the bridge. It is a long slender feelchehra that swings by, elephant headed at the prow, and the oarsmen wear an Alipur livery. A lady, bravely wrapped against the evening chills is cushioned near the helm, and there is just light enough left to catch the gleam of gold in her ample tresses and time enough (for she is singing softly) the note of gold in her voice. Away they slide between the gaunt piers bearing the uplifted roadway—wondrous elephant, singing rowers, and golden girl. The swirl of the black implacable waters of the wicked river is with them on through the bridge and out into the beyond. *Telle est la Vie! Telle est la Vie!*

The Strand Road is almost impassable now for it is the eve of a great *poojah* day. The bandstand at the Eden Gardens is the centre of a great crowd of music lovers, the Red Road is alive with carriages; and Chowringhee, by the time we reach it, alight from Mosque to Paul's. Surely here is a Paris in the Orient, though as our hero dreamer would doubtless assert, on the wrong side of the river?

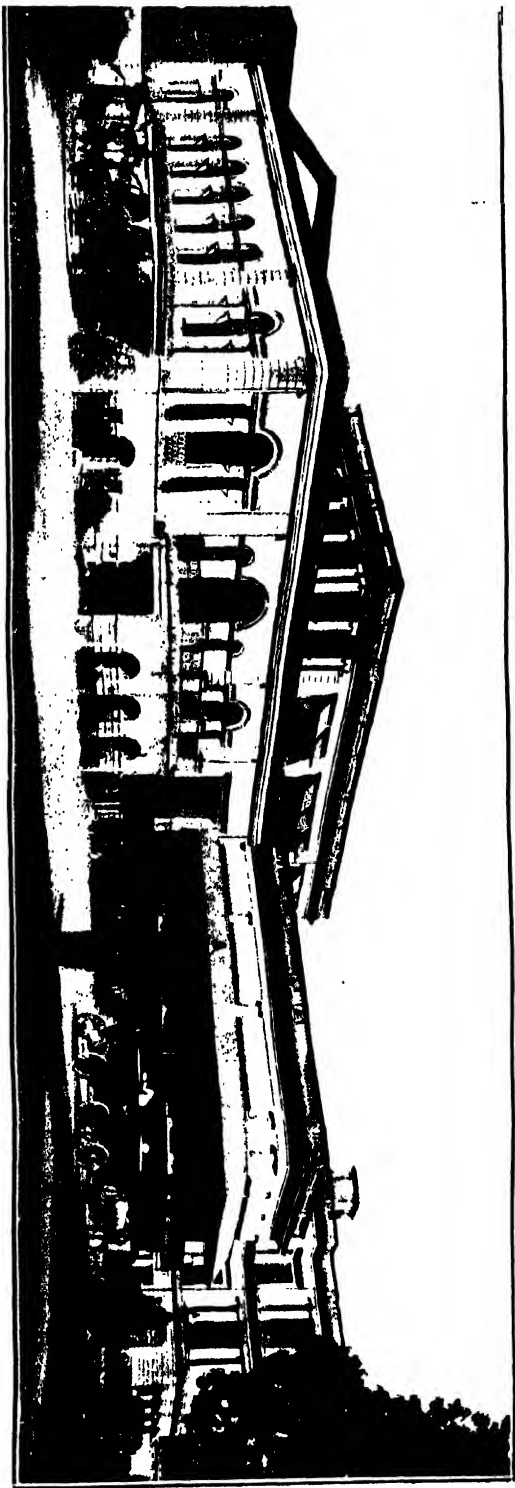
Leaves from the Editor's Note Book.



IN the present issue of *Bengal: Past and Present* I have commenced a republication of the *Memoir of Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse*, which originally appeared in the now exceedingly scarce *The British Indian Military Repository*. This periodical was edited by Captain Samuel Parlbby of the Bengal Artillery, and the volumes, in which the *Memorial* appeared, are dated 1822-23. Every one who has visited Dum-Dum must have taken notice of the lofty column raised to Colonel Pearse's memory close to the present Church, which was erected nearly thirty-two years after the Colonel's death. The letters given in this *Memoir* throw so much light on the history of the times that, I am sure, our readers will be glad to have them in possession.

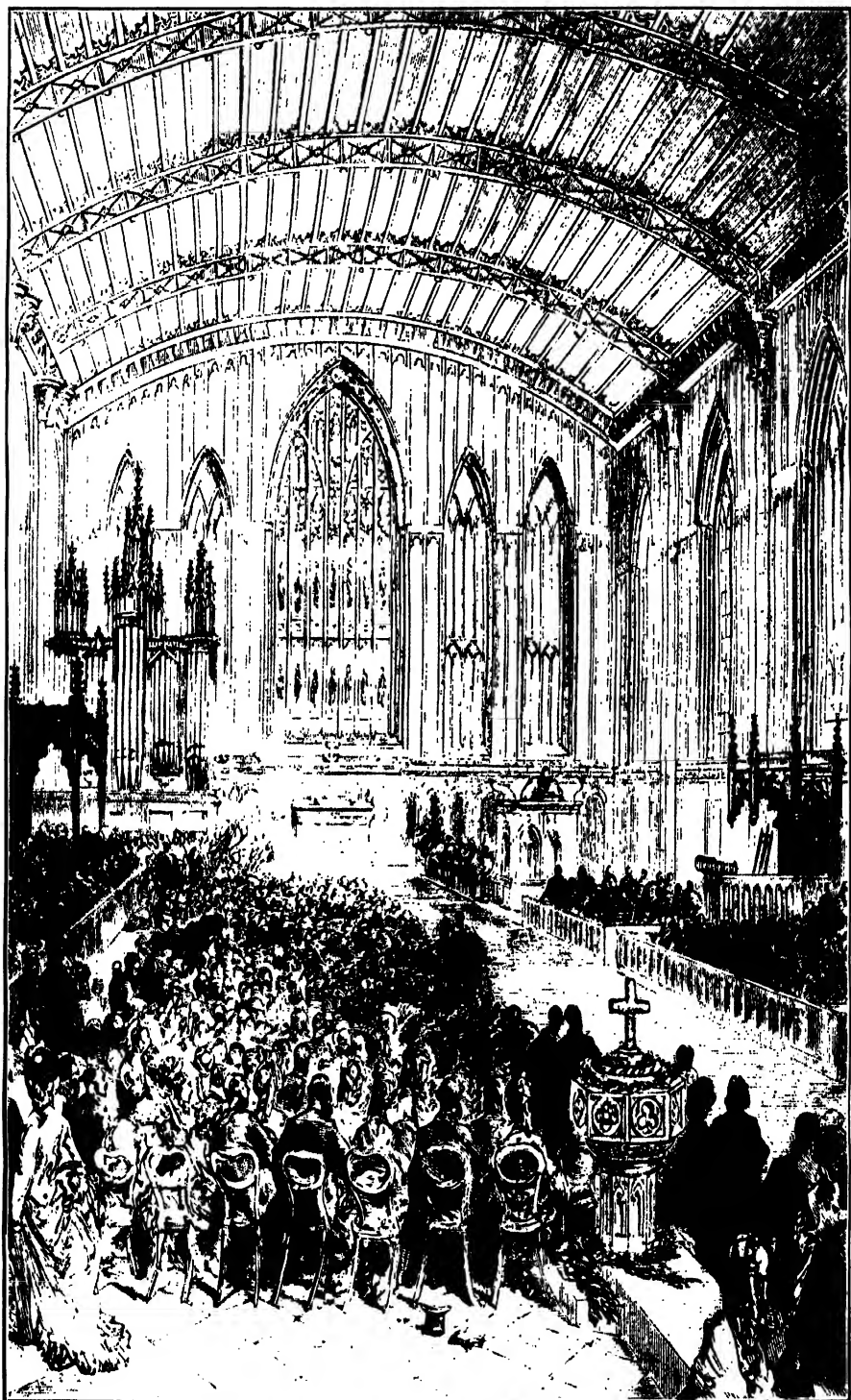
By the kindness of one of our members, I am able to include in this issue a reproduction of Mr. Arthur Norman's fine photograph of the Bengal Club Buildings, which during the last few weeks have been in course of demolition. It is, of course, unnecessary to remind the reader that the old house, which formed the nucleus of the building, was Lord Macaulay's Calcutta residence. The view of Chowringhee reproduced in this number shows us a bit of Calcutta which has undergone some considerable alteration of late years. The Mercury statue, referred to on p. 82 of Vol. 1 of *Bengal: Past and Present*, will be noted, and so also will be the Outram equestrian statue. The view of St. Paul's Cathedral, as it was on the occasion of our present King's visit, shows the building very differently arranged from what it is to-day.

IN my article on the "The Founder of Calcutta," in No. 2 of Vol. 1 of *Bengal: Past and Present*, I wrote (p. 197) "The date of the coming of the first English agents to Patna, Asoka's Pataliputra, has not been discovered. Professor H. Wilson has said that an attempt was made to establish a Factory at Patna in 1620, but Sir H. Yule could find no authority for this, and he adds that, in any case, such an attempt must have been made, from Surat through Agra long before the settlements were made in Bengal." The authority for Professor H. Wilson's statement is now forthcoming in the old letterbook of two merchants who found their way to Patna in the year 1620. The history of this attempt, made (as Sir H. Yule rightly conjectured) from Surat, is summarised by Mr. William Foster in his recent work, *The English Factories in India, 1618-1621*. The student of



THE RECENTLY DISMANTLED HOUSE OF
THE BENGAL CLUB.

A portion of which was Lord Macaulay's Residence.
(Phot. by J. Norman, Esq.)



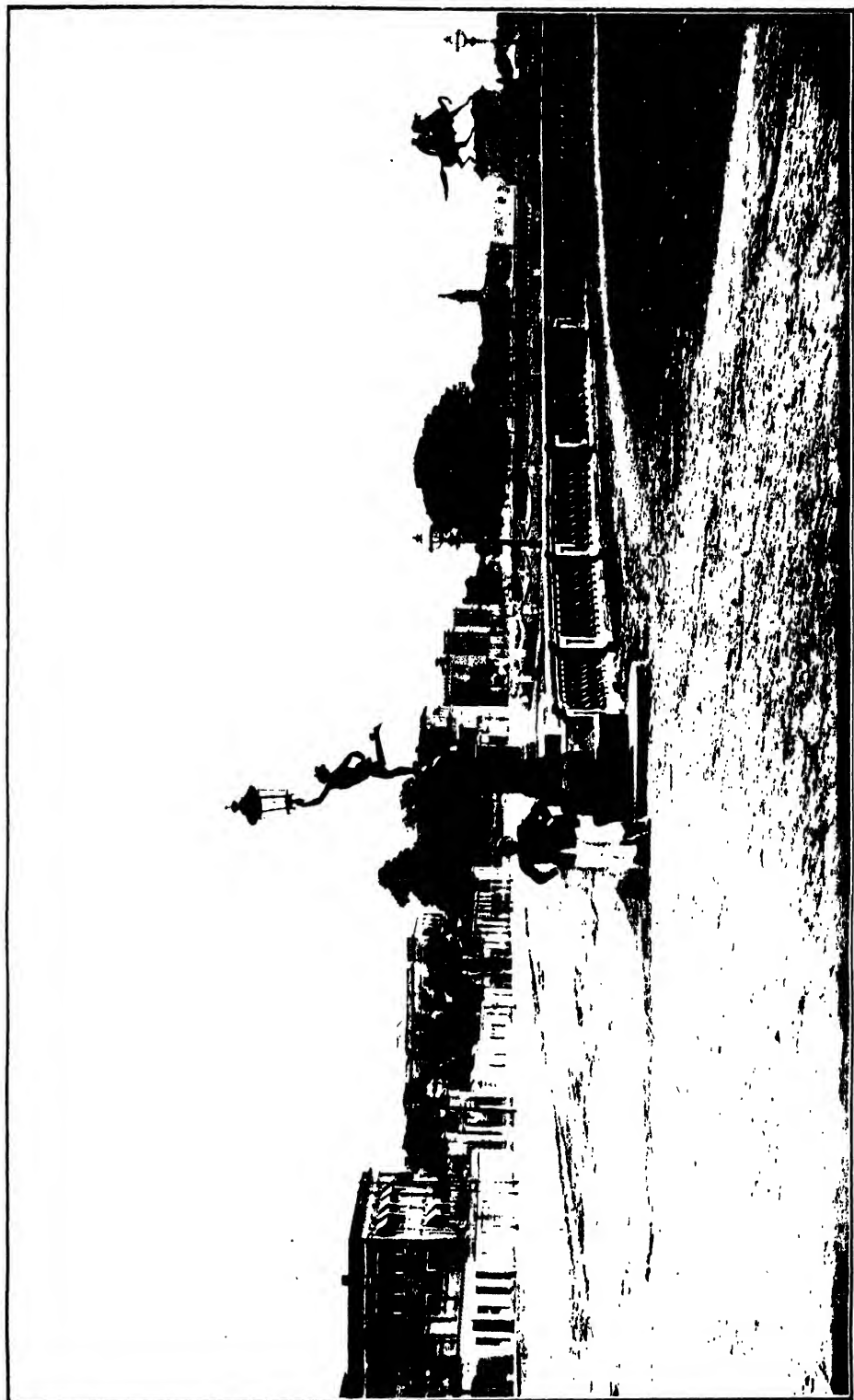
ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, CALCUTTA.
AT THE TIME OF OUR PRESENT KING'S VISIT.

history of the English in Bengal will find some most interesting materials in Mr. Foster's volume.

IN 1613, the English, on their way to Bengal, came to Orissa, and the story of the settlement at Balasore will be found in Dr. C. R. Wilson's masterly introduction to his none-too-widely-known, yet most deserving, book, *The English in Bengal*: but the story of the attempt to reach and exploit Bengal from the West of India has been, till Mr. Foster's book appeared, an untold tale. For the English merchants the attraction offered by Bengal was its silken goods and cottons: the only question was, would it not be in the long run cheaper to purchase the products of Bengal at Agra rather than to maintain factories on the spot? So early as 1619, the agents at Surat advised their brethren at Masulipatam: "As for trade in Bangala our masters have often require the attempte in expectacion, itt seemes, of come profitable commodities thence for England, butt as the case standes, wee see not how it can as now be undertaken." However, an attempt was made, and I will proceed to give a letter from Robert Hughes and John Parker, at Patna, to the Company, dated November 30, 1620. (I modernise, as far as possible, the English).

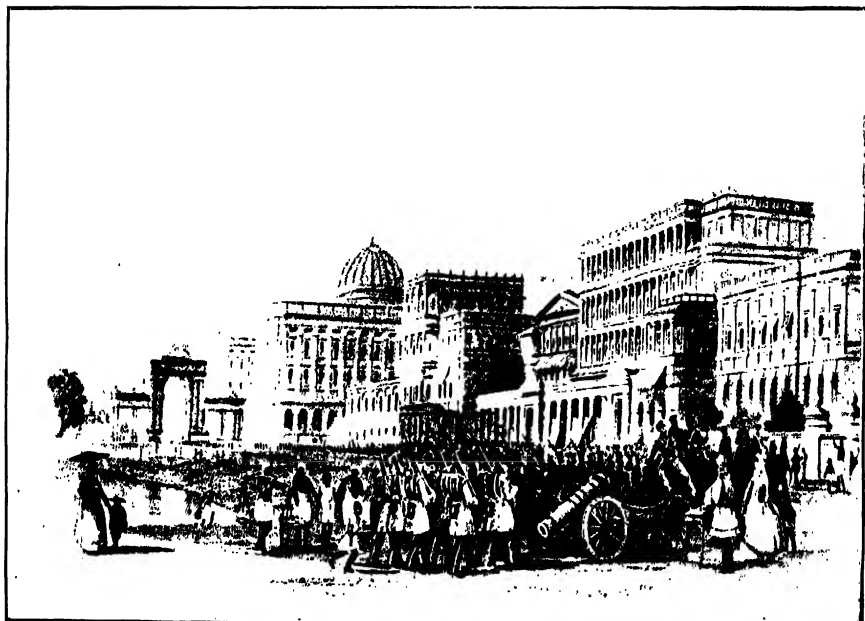
"Your Worships in your last year's letter, dated the 18th February and 6th March, 1618 [1619], sent by the *Charles*, *Ruby*, and *Diamond*, earnestly requiring quantity of commodities fitting England, and their provision to be made in such places as give best hopes, as well for attaining quantity as also their procuring to the best advantage for price, condition, etc., amongst sundry other new employments, thought on by the President and Council in Surat, after the dispeed of the *Lyon*, the last year, for England, they enordered some experience to be made in the parts of Bengal, for that by report it promised good store of callico, clothing, raw silk, etc., the commodities by your Worships most desired: for which cause they appointed Robert Hughes to be sent from the Agra Factory to Patna, the chiefest mart town of all Bengal, appointing him likewise an assistant then in Surat, who being long detained in Ahmadabad, for want of company to proceed for Agra, spent a great part of the year there; whereof we having notice in Agra, the time spending so fast, and the way between Patna and Agra somewhat tedious, it was thought requisite to dispeed Robert Hughes before, and the assistant to follow him upon advice of the necessity. And having accorded upon a competent sum of monies for some present trials, with bills of exchange importing 4,000 rupees, he departed (from) Agra the 8th June, and after 29 days travel arrived here in Patna the 3rd July, where having procured acceptance of his exchanges, and made some inquisition into the hope and good here to be effected, and upon good

information being ascertained that this place to good purpose might be established a factory, he forthwith advised Surat and Agra thereof, and entrusted the sending of his assistant and by him some English goods, which in Agra lay unvendable, with more supplies of monies, to proceed in provision of what goods might possibly be compassed timely to be sent hence this year for Surat and England ; of which advice and information the Agra factors approved, and in place of John Bagam, which was proceeded with Robert Younge for Lahore, they sent hither John Parker, and by him the goods advised for, who came hither about the midst of September ; before and since whose arrival what we have effected in our provision, etc., we will proceed to give your Worships notice. Accounts of goods purchased and forwarded to Agra. The Amberty callicoës are made a days journey from this place in a pergana (" prigonye ") or shier called Lackhower, where they are still to be bought of all prices, infinite quantities from the poor weavers which make them, brown of which there are three sorts, the first narrow breadths and are commonly called rasseys, generally coarse and few or none above two rupees net, the piece of about half a yard broad and 13 yards long ; the next sort are called zefferconnyes, and at most may be one-fourth broader than the former, but much finer and of higher prices, from two to six rupees per piece ; and the third and last sort the broadest and finest, known here by the name of Jehangeres, whereof some are a full English yard and few or none above. Neither can the weavers conveniently make them broader (as themselves say) to have them substantially and close woven. The best and cheapest course would be to buy them raw and have them bleached afterwards. Ten or fifteen thousand pieces might easily be procured. The finer sorts are a good sort of cloth having no fault but want of breadth. A thin cloth like callico lawn is also procurable in good quantities. Samples of raw silk sent. They can procure it cheaper than in Agra by 30 per cent., viz. Rs. $4\frac{5}{8}$ the seer of $33\frac{1}{2}$ pieces (which seer is near about $1\frac{1}{2}$ pounds English avoirdupois) against Rs. $5\frac{3}{4}$ the seer 30 pieces in Agra. The supply has been approved from Surat, and they hope to provide 300 maunds yearly. Amberty callicoës and raw silk are the two main props which must uphold this factory. They have sold most of their English goods to the Governor. The Portuguese, of late years, have had a trade here in Patna, coming up with their frigates from the bottom of Bengal, when they have two ports, the one called Gollye, the other Pieppullye and therein are licensed by this King to inhabit Gollye is their chiefest port, where they are in great multitudes, and have their yearly shipping both from Malacca and Cochin. The commodities they usually bring up hither is for the most part tin, spices, and China wares, in lieu whereof they transport amberty callicoës, carpets, and all sorts of their cloth, which they die into reds purposely





LADY CANNING'S MONUMENT
IN
St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta.



A SOMEWHAT FANCIFUL VIEW OF THE ESPLANADE EAST,
AT THE TIME OF VISIT OF H. M. OUR PRESENT KING EMPEROR.

for sail to the southwards. This city stands up on the Ganges, whose swift current transports their frigates with such dexterity that in five or six days they usually go up to their ports, but in repairing up again spend thrice the time."

THIS letter is in itself of great interest. It is, as far as can be at present decided, the first business letter sent home by an English Merchant in Bengal to his employers beyond the seas. It deserves to be reproduced in *facsimile*. The place to which Hughes had been "dispeeded" was apparently Hajipur, on the other side of the river to Patna. "Hogreporepatamia" and "Hageepore-Puttana" are alternative names given to this place in the records: Patna is represented by "Puttana." The great weaving centre, Hughes' "Lackhower" is, Mr. Foster conjectures, the present Lukawar, about 50 miles south of Patna. "Gollye" is, of course, Hughli, and Pieppullye is Pippli in the Balasore district.

ROBERT HUGHES reached Patna on July 3, 1620, and was joined by John Parker in the following September. In the March of 1621, a "terrible fire" ravaged the city: the Factors' house and merchandise were destroyed. About the same time their Patron, Muquarrab Khan, was transferred to Agra, while Prince Parwiz, Jehangir's second son, became Governor of Patna. In June, the two Englishmen were dispossessed of their second home, and we find them "theise ten dayes wandringe to cover ourselves and goods, thoughe but with grase to deebar the heate and raynes, now in excess." On September 13, 1621, Hughes left for Agra, he was followed by Parker a few weeks later; and the story of the first attempt of the English to found a factory at Patna, told by Mr. Foster with not a few interesting details, thus ends.

IN these letters we find references to the Portuguese emporium at Satgaon—"Satgonge" as Hughes calls it—and we hear a good deal about "quiltes of Satgonge wrought with yellow silk." We hear too of "Mucksoude" (*i.e.*, Maksudabad afterwards Murshidabad) and "Sidecabaude (Saidabad)—places of hundred and thirty-six years later to loom large in Anglo-Indian History. As Satgaon is a place to which the Society proposes to make an expedition, I will venture to cite the account given by Cæsar Frederick, *circa* 1563—(English modernised.)

"I departed from Orisa to Bengal, to the harbour Piqueno, which is distant from Orisa towards the east a hundred and seventy miles. They go as it were rowing along the coast fifty and four miles, and then we enter into the river Ganges: from the mouth of this river to a city called Satagan, where the merchants gather themselves together with their trade,

are a hundred miles, which they row in eighteen hours with the increase of the water in which river it floweth and ebbeth as it does in the Thames, and when the ebbing water is come, they are not able to row in it, by reason of the swiftness of the water, yet their barks be light and armed with oars like to foistes, yet they cannot prevail against that stream, but for refuge must make them fast to the bank of the river until the next flowing water, and they call these barks Bazaras and Patvas ; they row as well as a Galliot, or as well as ever I have seen any. A good tides rowing before you came to Satagan, you shall have a place which is called Buttor,* and from thence upwards the ships doe not goe, because that upwards the river is very shallow and little water. Every year at Buttor they make and unmake a village with houses and shops made of straw, and with all things necessary to their uses, and this village standeth as long as the ships ride there, and till they depart for the Indies, and when they are departed, every man goeth to his plot of houses, and there setteth fire on them, which thing made me to marvel. For as I passed up to Satagan, I saw this village standing with a great number of people, with an infinite number of ships and bazars, and at my return coming down with my Captain of the last ship, for whom I tarried, I was all amazed to see such a place so soon raised and burnt, and nothing left but the sign of the burnt houses. The small ships go to Satagan, and there they laid.

" In the port of Satagan every year laid thirty or five and thirty ships small and great, with rice, cloth of Bombast of diverse sorts, Lacca, great abundance of suggar, mirabolans dried and preserved, long pepper, oyle of Zerzeline and many other kinds of merchandise. The city of Satagan is a reasonable fair city for a city of the Moors, abounding with all things, and was governed by the King of Patane, and now is subject to the great Mogul. I was in this kingdom four months, whereas many merchants did buy or freight boats for their benefits, and with these barks they go up and down the river Ganges to fairs, buying their commodity with a great advantage, because that every day in the week they have a fair now in one place, and now in another, and I also hired a bark, and went up and down the river and did my business, and so in the night I saw many strange things. The kingdom of Bengal in times past have been as it were in the power of the Moors, nevertheless there is a great store of Gentiles among them ; always whereas I have spoken of Gentiles is to be understood idolaters, and whereas I speak of Moors I mean Mahomet's sects. Those people especially that be within the land do greatly worship the River Ganges, for when any is sick, he is brought out of the country to the bank of the river, and there they make him a small cottage of straw, and every day they wet him with that water, whereof there are many that die, and when they are dead, they make a heap

of sticks and boughs and lay the dead body thereon, and putting fire thereunto, they let the body alone until it be half-roasted, and then they take it off from the fire, and make an empty jar fast about his neck and so throw him into the river. These things every night I saw for the space of two months, as I passed up and down to the fairs to buy my commodities with the merchants. This is the cause that the Portugals will not drink of the water of the Ganges, yet to the sight it is more perfect and clearer than the water of the Nile is."

IN the last issue, I quoted Miss Bletchynden's account of the terrible wreck of the *Grosvenor*. I have since come across, in the notice of "the life and writings of the author" prefixed to Robert Orme's *Historical Fragments*, the following passage in a letter from the historian to Sir William Jones:—

"I must now ask your pardon and permission to speak on a matter which affects me to the very heart. The sad fate of the ship *Grosvenor* will have reached India long before this letter. My nephew, Mr. Hosea, his wife and child were among those who got ashore; and I have heard of them to the tenth day after the wreck; but beyond, to this hour nothing. Captain D'Auvergne, who arrived about three months ago from the Cape, says, there were accounts of more white people inland when he came away; but two ships, a Dane and a Frenchman, had been lost on the same coast; and nearly on the same part of it since the *Grosvenor* so that I am almost without hope of his safety. I am one of his attorneys in England and he has three children under our care, a boy and two girls, the eldest ten years old. Nobody knows anything of any will of Mr. Hosea being deposited in England; but it is scarcely possible that he should have left Bengal without making one and leaving at least a duplicate of it in India."

THE writer of the biographical note tells us that "when the dreadful news arrived of the loss of the *Grosvenor* Indiaman, in which his nephew and his family were passengers, it so extremely affected Mr. Orme, that it was a long time before even his superior mind could be reconciled to the event. In a letter to a friend, he says: 'my wretched health has been more impaired by this shock which for many days left me almost in a state of stupidity.'" The letter to Sir William Jones is dated, "Harley Street March 12, 1784." Of the three Hosea children here mentioned, the boy (William Orme) died, in the Hon. Company's service in Bengal, and one girl married a Lieut.-Colonel Sharpe and the other John Betsworth Trevanion.

IN the biographical notice of Orme, there is another interesting Calcutta reference. "Mr. Orme had, in 1750, commenced a very agreeable intercourse

and sincere friendship with Mr. Benjamin Robins, who had just then arrived at Madras from England, as Engineer-General of all the Company's fortifications in India ; and who immediately planned those of Fort St. David and Madras but did not live to finish them, though they were afterwards completed upon his plan. Mr. Robins died, with his pen in his hand, July 29, 1751, while in the act of drawing up for the Company some official statements. It was a little remarkable that, ten years afterwards, Mr. Orme on his arrival in England, should meet and form an acquaintance with three very intimate and learned friends of Mr. Robins, *viz.*, Dr. Henry Pemberton and Dr. James Wilson, associates of the late Sir Isaac Newton, and Mr. John Nourse, an eminent bookseller in the Strand, a man of great mathematical science, deeply skilled in the Newtonian philosophy, and who in early life had also the honour and happiness of being known to Sir Isaac. Mr. Nourse was at the time preparing for the press the learned works of Mr. Robins, under the care of Dr. Wilson ; who in a very critical and learned preface observes : 'These [Mr. Robins' abilities as an engineer] I have heard highly praised by many intelligent persons who have been upon the spot ; and what is still more, I have been informed [by Mr. Orme] that they were approved of by the brave Colonel Clive who, through the force of genius alone becoming a self-taught commander, has, with matchless conduct as well as valour, relieved our sinking affairs in those parts of the world.' "

IN a footnote we are given the following information as regards Robins :—
 "Termed by Mr. Orme a man of great science and an honour to his country. Mr. Robins was the real narrator of Lord Anson's *Voyage Round the World* which carries in the title page the name of the Rev. Richard Walter, Chaplain of the *Centurion*." We find also, by the following letter from Lord Anson, that had Mr. Robins remained in England, he designed to have added a second volume to that work.

"Bath, the 22nd October, 1749.

"DEAR SIR,

"When I last saw you in town, I forgot to ask you, whether you intended to publish the second volume before you leave us, which I confess I am very sorry for. If you should have laid aside all thoughts of favouring the world with more of your works, it will be much disappointed ; and no one in it more than your very much obliged humble servant.

"ANSON.

"P.S.—If you can tell the time of your departure, let me know it."

I DO not propose to discuss Robins' career at length, for, although he is not noticed in the *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, his life is very fairly given

in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The son of a poor Quaker at Bath, Benjamin Robins was born in 1707, and he died at Fort St. David, Cuddalore, in 1751. In the first volume of Dr. C. R. Wilson's *Old Fort William* will be found the instructions given by the Court in 1749 for the fortification of Calcutta which Robins was commissioned to carry into execution. He was to take rank as third in Council, and to remain in India till March, 1754. Dr. Wilson records that Robins arrived at Fort St. David on the *Grantham* on July 14, 1750, and left by the *Swallow* on February 10, 1751. On March 11th, we read of him as arrived at Calcutta, and "offered a house at 150 Madras rupees per month." But the visit to Calcutta was merely on flight.* Estimates for chunam and timber put in by the Master Engineer were duly passed, but he himself had to fly back to Cuddalore, and there he died of fever on July 29, 1751. Apparently, finding death hard on his track, Robins communicated to Orme some of the essentials of his intentions as to the fortification of Calcutta. In a letter written by Orme from Madras, 1754, we read :

"The Company's Settlement of Calcutta is situated upon a low of the River Ganges, the points of which are Salman's [Surman's] Garden to the Southward and Perring's Garden to the Northward. Our bounds extend inland in a kind of a curve too, the greatest distance of which from the River is about a mile and a quarter. About ten years ago, upon the incursion of the Morra-toes, the merchants were so alarmed that at their own expense they proposed to dig a ditch round the bounds and of the earth to form a rampart within it, and accordingly in a hurry finished three-fourths of it. I believe there remains a mile to carry it down to the River, it having turned the southernmost angle of our bounds—though this ditch and rampart are no ways answerable to their intent of defending the bounds yet had they be finished quite down to the River as they are to the Northward with openings to the great roads which lead into the Town, it most certainly would have proved excellent means of laying with great exactness the customs on all inland importations. Mr. Robins told me, when he returned from Bengal, that he intended to carry on this ditch into the moat of the citadel he designed to be built a little above Salman's Garden ; and, by deepening it, proposed to make it defensible till the principal inhabitants with their most valuable effects could retire into this new Fort. So that, whether or no the engineer that succeeds Mr. Robins pitches upon the same place, it is evident that, with an eye only to the security of the colony, this ditch ought to be carried down to the river ; and, when the advantage and ease it will afford to all the imports on goods brought out of the country is likewise

* Major-General Stubbs, in his *History of the Bengal Artillery*, wrongly surmises that Robins never visited Calcutta.

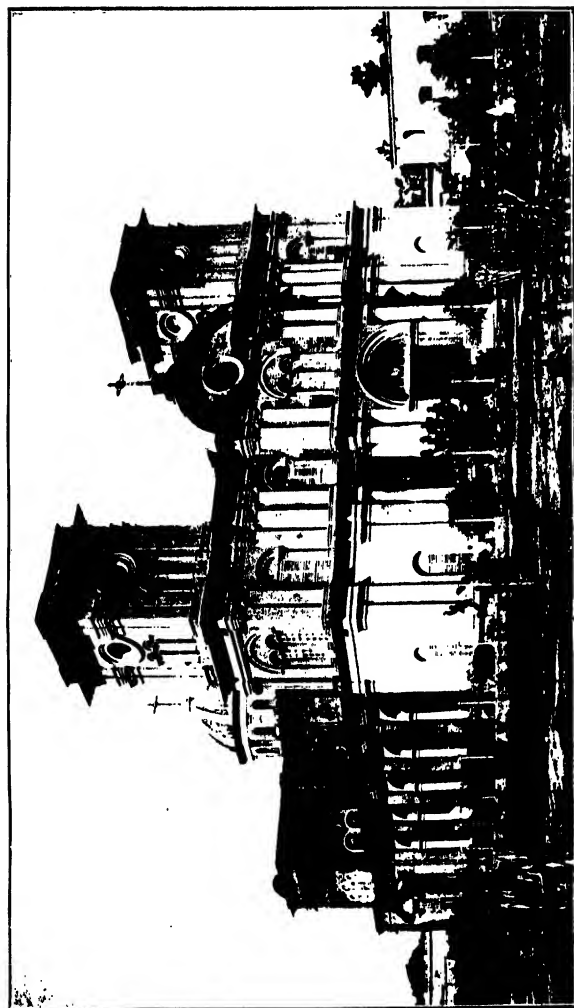
considered, I think there cannot be the least hesitation about executing it immediately."

THIS last quotation serves, I think, to show that, had Robins lived to carry out his plans, the new Fort William would have arisen on its present site some years before the disaster of 1756. But I will not continue the subject for the very satisfactory reason that I am expecting an article on the subject of the Engineers of Fort William from the lady who so kindly contributed to our first number an article on "The Northern Side of Tank Place." But before we say *au revoir* to Robert Orme, I think it would be worth while for us to remember that, although the Historian himself is not buried in the solemn Abbey, there are on its walls at least two inscriptions written by his pen—*vis.*, the monuments to Stringer Lawrence (the "Founder of the Indian Army") and to Sir Eyre Coote. "Echoes of Bengal in Westminster Abbey" would be a magnificent subject for a writer endowed with the knowledge of the late C. R. Wilson and the literary power of Washington Irving.

"THE mention of Surman's Garden a little higher up leads me to ask the question: What has become of the late C. R. Wilson's Part II of Vol. II of the *English in Bengal*? In this Part II, we were, eight years ago, promised an account of the important Surman embassy, and the book was practically ready for the press at the time of Dr. Wilson's death. What, we are all asking, has become of the book?

MR. P. A. SELFE has sent me a photograph of the great Gola or Granary at Bankipore. From the Government "List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal" (August 1895) I excerpt: "This structure, consisting of a brick-building in shape of a bee-hive, was re-erected in 1786 as a storehouse for grain as part of a plan to guard against famines, the intention being to build such granaries throughout the district in which grain might be stored in years of plenty as provision against years of dearth. The granary at Bankipore was, however, the only one built in the district, and it was never filled. . . . The building at Bankipore is an enormous structure; the walls are twelve feet thick and are pierced by four doors, one to each side. Two spiral flights of stairs led to the top, where there is an opening for filling in the grain, which is closed with a stone slab. Over one of the doors is a marble tablet which bears the following inscription:—

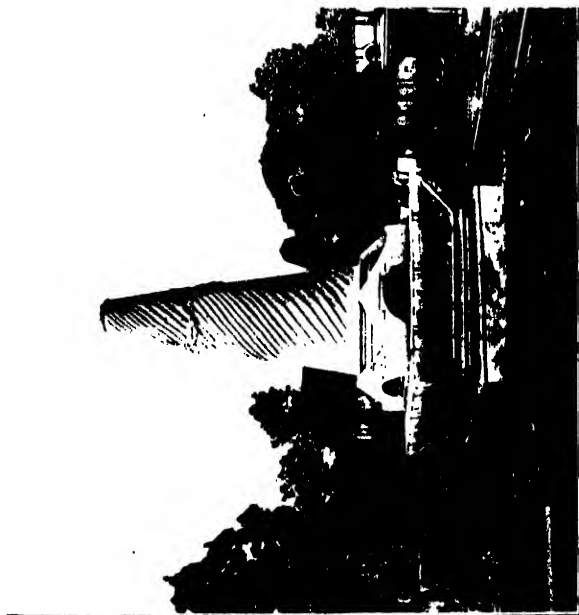
'No. 1—In part of a general plan ordered by the Governor-General in Council, 20th of January 1784, for the perpetual prevention of famine in these provinces, the granary was



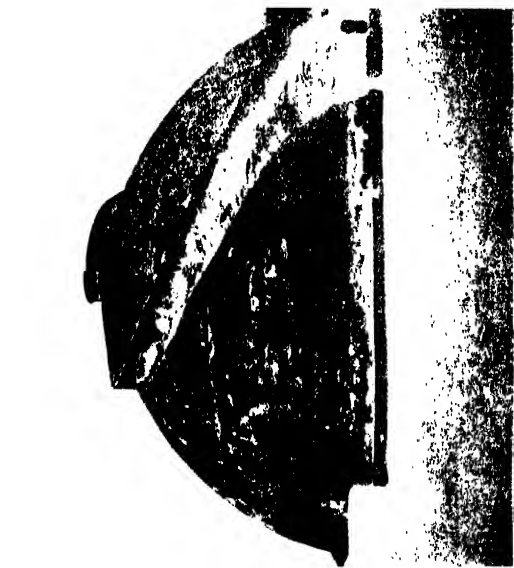
CHURCH OF THE SACRED HEART, CHANDERNAGORE.
To the right is a view of the second Church of St. Louis.
(Photo. by T. Odier.)



THE RT. REV. MGR. MAGLOIRE BARTHET,
of the Congregation du St. Esprit
CURE OF CHANDERNAGORE FOR 28 YEARS
AND FOUNDER OF THE CHURCH OF THE SACRED HEART
NOW BISHOP OF ABBERE AND ASSISTANT TO
H. E. CARDINAL LECOT,
Archbishop of Bordeaux.



ROSE AYTEMK, TOMB.
(*Photo by C. F. Hooper, Esq.*)



THE GRANARY AT BANKIPUR.
(*Photo by P. A. Selfe, Esq.*)

erected by Captain John Garstin, Engineer. First filled and publicly closed by'

"The Gola has never been filled, hence the space in the inscription still remains blank, and the building stands a useless monument of a mistake, inasmuch as the doors at the bottom open inwards."

The Calcutta reader will hardly need to be reminded that Warren Hastings caused a great granary to be built in Fort William. To quote the *List* again: "The Granary is now used as a store for the Military Works Department. Above it is the Military Prison which was built in 1871-72. The original building is 90½ feet broad by 127 feet long and is about 25 feet high. Each cross wall has four arched openings of 12 feet span. It is of brick in lime and the external walls are 5 feet 3 inches thick. The external walls have been cement plastered comparatively recently. After construction of the Military Prison, it was found necessary to strengthen the bay at the south-west end by tie rods and building up a cross-wall to support the arch. On the front of the building is a black-stone slab, 3 feet long by 20 inches high, with the following inscription:—

"This building contains 51,268 maunds of rice and 20,023½ maunds of paddy, which were deposited by order of the Governor-General and Council under the inspection and charge of John Belli, Agent for providing victualling stores to this garrison in the month of March, April and May 1782."

I HAVE received a copy of Mr. Shumbhoo Chunder Dey's excellent work the *Bansberia Raj*, which is issued by the Pooran Press but may be obtained from all well-known booksellers. *Bansberia* has so recently occupied a prominent place in the pages of *Bengal: Past and Present*, that only a few words are necessary to recommend this interesting work to our readers. The Society's visit to *Bansberia* was by no means the least interesting of our expeditions of last year, and, as the visit may be repeated, members are advised to procure Mr. Dey's work, which is well illustrated, and is sold for a very small sum. Mr. Dey is already favourably known to us by his *Hughly: Past and Present*; his new volume will sustain his reputation.

THE appearance of the present number has been delayed in order to admit of the inclusion of an account of the Society's visit to Chandernagore. The expedition was a most delightful one. The kindly message of welcome from the Administrateur, the warm-hearted hospitality of the Maire, and the skilled guidance of the Messieurs Leheureux all contributed to the charm of our visit. Not one of us, I am sure, felt that our cheers for the *entente cordiale*, the President of the French Republic, the civic authorities, and our other friends.

at Chandernagore were mere formalities : we entered into them with right good zeal, voice, heart, and hand. The Expedition, thanks to the endeavours of Messrs. Leheureux and Mr. E. W. Madge, has been productive of some good results from the historian's point of view, and it has undoubtedly secured the correction of many common blunders in regard both to topography and historical facts.

To students of Old Chandernagore I would recommend the study of the history of Jean Baptiste Chevalier as a fine field for original research work. The first I can hear of him is about March, 1757, when M. Courtin, the French Chief at Dacca, was daily expecting his return from an adventurous visit to the King of Assam. The story of his fellow-sufferings with M. Courtin is told by Mr. S. C. Hill in his *Three Frenchman in Bengal*. In H. Vansittart's *Original Papers Relative to the Disturbances in Bengal* (Vol. 1, p. 5 *et seq.*) there is in 1759 a correspondence between Warren Hastings and W. B. Summer, the English Chief at Dacca, and in it we find Chevalier as one among "others usurping the English name," and this highly truculent letter from Chevalier to "Meer Atta Oolla, Waladur of the Pergunah of Baharbund."

"The letter, which you sent to my writer, I have received. You write that if I belong to the English, I must have the English Sunnud, and desire a copy of it to be sent to you. In answer I ask, who are you that I should send you a copy of the Sunnud? If you want to be informed who I am, and who sent me, send a man to the Chief who will answer you. If the people of your Pergunah are guilty of any insolence to mine, I shall chastise them handsomely for it. Forbid your people, that they enter with no quarrels with mine; if they do so without reason, they shall be punished; if my people behave ill to your's, do you write me word of it, and I will punish them."

THE Treaty of Paris (February 1763) brought to an end the Seven Years' War between France and England. By this Treaty, France, in return for the restoration of her factories, agreed to maintain no military establishment in India. Chandernagore, however, was not restored to the French till the 15th June, 1765. The year 1763 (the year of the Patna massacre and our final dealing with Mir Kassim) was a troubled one, and the French, perhaps, were in too sad a plight at once to claim their own under the Treaty. Throughout the year the English continued to grant monthly relief to their distressed French neighbours. On the list, in November, I find the name of Sinfray. Was this the stalwart leader of the French at Plassey? In this same year, the English sent a considerable number of their prisoners of war to the Isle of France for exchange. On the list I find a naval officer named Verlé—probably the father of Madame Grand. On 19th June, 1765, Chandernagore was handed over to John Law of Lauriston, who had returned to India in 1764

as "Chevalier of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Colonel of Infantry, Commissary for the King ; Commandant of the French Establishments in the East Indies." The situation still was not very cheerful ; in the following September, Law writes that, owing to the ill treatment of his merchants by the native agents of the English, he is "in one of the most painful situations I ever felt." In May 1767, the name of Renault appears on our records as that of the Chief, and the name of Sinfray appears as one of his Council. According to the list of Governors, supplied by M. Deville to Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford, Chevalier became Governor in 1769. A number of his letters (copies) will be found on the Consultations of the Government. They relate chiefly to extortions alleged to have been practised by the British pilots, and to complaints as to the supply of opium.

THE story of the misfortunes of the French in Bengal, when the news of the outbreak of the war in Europe reached Warren Hastings, deserves to be told. Their troubles were, of course, aggravated by the temporary success of such a person as St. Lubin in his intrigues with the Poona Durbar. Chevalier evidently got early tidings of the intention of the English to take possession of Chandernagore. His good lady seems, as the following letter will show, to have played her part very well.

"FROM COLONEL DOW—

"HON'BLE SIR,—This morning at daybreak I invested the settlement of Chandernagore in the most secret manner possible, having crossed the troops at two different places above and below the town. As I could procure no intelligence of Mr. Chevalier last night, I took immediate possession of the garden house (at Ghyretti) with a company of sepoys. On my first demand I was informed he was in bed and that he would wait on me immediately. Three different messages were sent in writing to which the same kind of answers were received. When I forced my way towards the inner apartment, Mrs. Chevalier appeared, and requested, as her children were sick, that I would have further patience, and that Mr. Chevalier, who was dressing, would come out. Finding, however, that delay seemed to be intended for some particular purpose, I became more peremptory and was going to search the bedchamber, when a Monsieur Hanquart appeared in a *Star*, and assured me that Monsieur Chevalier was not in the house, nor in Chandernagore, but that he was Commandant of the garrison, and demanded for what I came in that hostile manner, which I explained. As it was impossible from the number of guards, which I placed round the house at daylight, that Monsieur Chevalier could have escaped from that time, I suspect that he has received previous intelligence, and has set out down the river in the night ; but this is only surmise. I thought it, however, necessary to give you the earliest

intelligence of his escape that you may use the necessary means for apprehending him.

"Monsieur Hanquart, after much altercation, has consented to deliver up the place on the terms you proposed, which I stated to him; and I am now going with him from Garetty to put the troops in possession. I have left a Company of sepoys and an officer here, and shall order the house to be diligently searched, though I have little reason to hope that Monsieur Chevalier is concealed in it. Six or seven other gentlemen are here.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,

"GARETTY, 9 o'clock.

"ALEX. DOW, *Lieutenant-Colonel*."

It will be seen, a little further on, in these Notes that Chevalier was captured at Cuttack by Alexander Elliot, but, for the while, the Government supposed that he had fled to Pondicherry. Here I will venture to give the form of *parole* entered into by Chevalier and Sanson (French Chief of Balasore).

We the under written Jean Baptist Chevalier, Knight of the Royal and Military order of St. Louis, Commander in Chief, for his most Christian Majesty of the French Settlements in Bengal, and Joseph Sanson, Chief for the French natives at Balasore, engage upon our word of Honor to proceed to Calcutta, and not to treat on the Road of any connection or political affair with the Chiefs and people of the country. In virtue whereof, we have signed this present act, reserving to ourselves to treat hereafter with the Governor and Council of Calcutta for the conditions and engagements which may concern the prisoners of war and their liberty.

Done at Cuttack the 2nd August 1778.

(Sd.) CHEVALIER.

(Sd.) SANSON.

A True Translation from the Original.

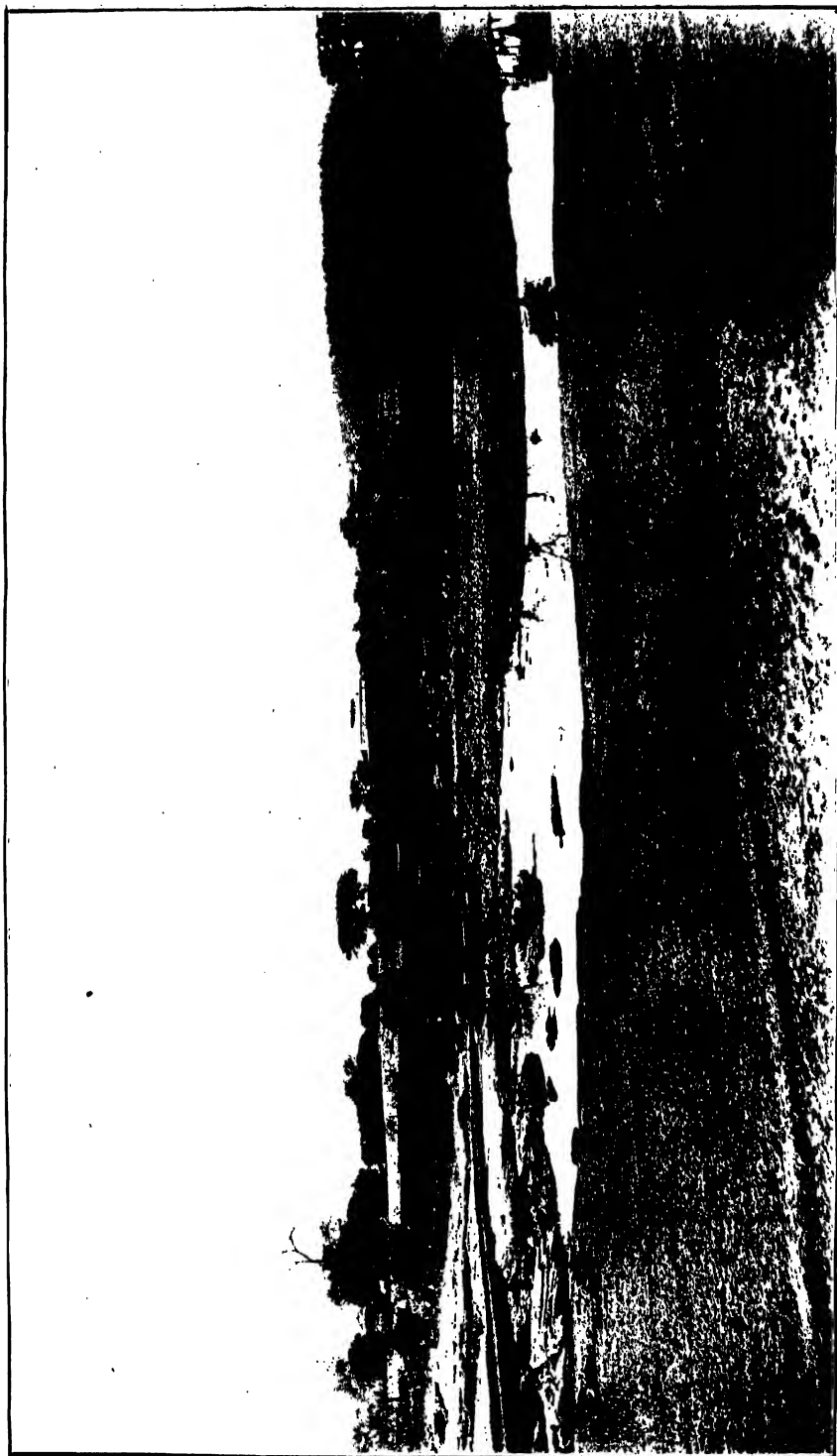
(Sd.) A. L. GILBERT,

French Translator.

It would seem that Warren Hastings, who must have over and over again enjoyed Chevalier's hospitality at Ghyretti, determined to let Chevalier off on the easiest terms. He granted him permission to return to France by a Danish ship *vid* Suez. This concession evoked a strong protest from Francis and Wheler. Francis seems to have thought that Hastings was far too easy going in regard to the French in Bengal. Here is the debate as recorded on the Consultations:—

"3rd December 1778.

"Having seriously considered the many bad consequences likely to arise from the permission, which I understand has been given to Messrs. Chevalier and Monneron to go to Europe by the way of Suez, I must express my opinion to the Board that such permission, if granted, should forthwith be



DISTANT VIEW OF ALEXANDER ELLIOT'S TOMB.
(Photo. reproduced by the *Graphic* in permission of H. E. Lady Minto.)

recalled, and that those gentlemen should be obliged to go to England by the way of the Cape. The resolution of the Board, with respect to Mr. Chevalier, was that for the sake of accommodating himself and his family he might be at liberty to take his passage on board a Danish ship. I desire that the opinion of the other members of the Board may be taken on this subject.

"(Sd.) P. FRANCIS.

"I agree with Mr. Francis that many bad consequences are likely to arise from the permission which has been given to Messrs. Chevalier and Monneron to go to Europe by way of Suez, and as that liberty was not (I conceive) implied in the Resolution of the "Board" with respect to them, I am against it.

"(Sd.) E. WHELER.

"I have granted Mr. Chevalier, and many other French gentlemen, passports to go to Europe by way of Suez, under the faith of the general licenses granted by the Board. I know not what reason Mr. Francis may have for desiring to withdraw them, but cannot give my consent to it, and hope that the Board will pay that much attention to the credit of my authority as to reject a proposition so injurious to it.

"(Sd.) WARREN HASTINGS.

"When I made my objection to Mr. Chevalier's design, I was ignorant of the Government's being so far committed as to render my objection nugatory. Under the circumstances I must support the act of Government.

"(Sd.) R. BARWELL.

"The license given by the Governor to Mons. Chevalier and others to go to Europe by Suez are acts of his own opposed to the Resolutions of the Board, without whose authority there can be no act of Government. Going in this manner, Mr. Chevalier will have all the effects of an Express Messenger to France to give the French Ministry the earliest possible information of the state of India, and perhaps apprise them of the capture of Pondicherry before that is known in England. In his way he will undoubtedly make himself master of the navigation of the Red Sea, and probably form some scheme at Cairo or Alexandria for intercepting our packets coming or going through Egypt. If he has no such object in view, if he has no pressing motive of this kind to urge him to take the shortest route to France, why does he leave his wife and family to go round by the Cape, while he himself follows another course? In my opinion, the objections arising from these considerations, as to our suffering him to proceed by Suez, are unanswerable. I therefore protest against the license given him, as an act done without authority, and highly dangerous in the present circumstances to the interests of the Company and of the Nation.

"(Sd.) P. FRANCIS.

"I protest against the license given by the Governor-General to Messrs. Chevalier and others to go to Europe by Suez as an act done without authority, and highly dangerous, in the present circumstances, to the interests of the Company and of the Nation.

"(Sd.) E. WHEELER.

"My reply to Mr. Francis must consist of a denial of his objections. The licenses given to Mr. Chevalier and others to go to Europe by the way of Suez are 'not acts of my own opposed to the Resolutions of the Board,' for no Resolutions have been passed to forbid them.

"Mr. Chevalier's going in this manner will not give the French Ministry the earliest possible information of the capture of Pondicherry. I hope it will be known much earlier by our advices, which will not be a secret, nor can Mr. Belcombe be precluded from transmitting it, nor Mr. Chevalier neither.

"That he will undoubtedly make himself master of the navigation of the Red Sea and probably form some scheme at Cairo or Alexandria intercepting our packets coming through Egypt is a conclusion so foreign from any causes to which I can apply it that I shall not attempt to refute it.

"(Sd.) WARREN HASTINGS.

"I desire the Secretary will refer to the consultation in which it was first determined that Monsieur Chevalier should go to England on board one of the Company's ships, with that in which he was afterwards permitted by special indulgence to take his passage on board a Danish *Indiaman*. For the rest, I submit myself to the judgment of the Court of Directors.

"(Sd.) P. FRANCIS."

I cannot doubt that Warren Hastings had his way, and that J. B. Chevalier embarked at Serampore on board the Danish Ship *Nathalia*. Let Mrs. Fay tell us the rest of the story :—

"Several English merchants freighted a ship (*Nathalia*) from Serampore, a Danish settlement on the Hooghly, fourteen miles above Calcutta, whose Commander, Vanderfield, a Dane, passed for owner of the ship and cargo. Mr. O'Donnell, one of the persons concerned, who had property on board to the amount of above £20,000, came as passenger, as did Mr. Barrington, the real supercargo, also a freighter, and two Frenchmen, brothers named Chevalier. They left Bengal on New Year's Day 1779, and came first to Calicut, on the coast of Malabar, where they arrived in February : found English, French, Danish and Portuguese factors there and trade in a flourishing state ; so, not apprehending any danger, they entered into a contract with one Isaac, a rich old Jew, who has great influence with the Government to freight them with pepper for Bengal on their way from Suez that being the

greatest town on the coast for that commodity. The price was settled and £700 paid as earnest. This business arranged, they proceeded on their voyage ; and, having luckily disposed of some part of the cargo at this place, reached Suez with the remainder in the beginning of June, landed their goods to the amount of £40,000, and prepared to cross the desert on their way to Cairo. The company, besides those already mentioned, consisted of Chenu, the second mate, with some officers and servants : in all, twelve Europeans, strengthened by a numerous body of Arabian guards, camel drivers, etc., for the conveyance of their property—more than sufficient in everybody's opinion, for no one remembered a caravan being plundered—for, although sometimes the wandering Arabs were troublesome, yet a few presents never failed to procure a release from them. Thus were they lulled into a fatal security, each calculating the profits likely to accrue and extremely willing to compound for the loss of a few bales, should they happen to meet with any strolling depredators, not even once supposing their lives to be in danger, or intending to use their firearms should they be molested.

“ On Monday, the 14th June, they left Suez, and next morning at day-break had travelled about twenty miles (nearly one-third of the way), when the alarm was given of an attack, as they, poor souls, were sleeping across their baskets (or paniers). Captain Barrington, on awaking, ordered a dozen bales to be given to them immediately ; but, alas ! they (the Arabs) were already in possession of the whole, for the camel drivers did not defend themselves an instant, but left their beasts at the mercy of the robbers, who, after detaching a large body to drive them away with their burthens, advanced towards their passengers. Here I must request you to pause and reflect whether it be possible even for imagination to conceive a more dreadful scene to those concerned—particularly to Mr. O'Donnell, who from a concurrence of fortunate circumstances, had, in less than four years, realized a fortune of near £30,000, the bulk of which he had laid out in merchandise on the prospect of getting 30 per cent., and, as his health was in a very weak state, proposed retiring to Europe. What must that man have felt, a helpless spectator of his own ruin ? But this was nothing to what followed on their being personally attacked. The inhuman wretches, not content with stripping them to the skin, drove away their camels, and left them in a burning sandy desert, which the feet can scarcely touch without being blistered, exposed to the scorching rays of the sun, and utterly destitute of sustenance of any kind ; no house, tree, or even shrub to afford them shelter. My heart sickens, my hand trembles as I retrace this scene. Alas ! I can too well conceive their situation. I can paint to myself the hopeless anguish of an eye cast abroad in vain for succour ! But I must not indulge in reflections : let me simply relate the facts as they occurred. In this extremity, they stopped to

deliberate, when each gave his reasons for preferring the road he had determined to pursue. Mr. O'Donnell, Chenu, the Cook, and two others resolved to retrace their steps back to Suez, which was undoubtedly the most eligible plan. Of the remaining seven who went towards Cairo, only *one* survived. Mr. Barrington, being corpulent and short breasted, sunk under the fatigue the second day; his servant soon followed him. One of the French gentlemen was, by this time, become very ill, and his brother, perceiving a house at some miles distant (for in that flat country one may see a great way), prevailed on him to lie under a stunted tree, with his servant, while he endeavoured to procure some water, for the want of which the other was expiring. Hope, anxiety, and affection combined to quicken his pace, and rendered poor Vanderfield, the Danish captain, unable to keep up with him, which he most earnestly strove to do. From conflicting passion I wept myself almost blind as the poor Frenchman related his sufferings. Almost worn out with heat and thirst, he was afraid of not being able to reach the house, though his own life and that of his brother depended on it. On the other hand, the heart piercing cries of his fellow-sufferer that he was a dead man unless assisted by him, and conjuring him, for GOD'S sake, not to leave him to perish now they were in view of relief, arrested his steps, and agonised every nerve. Unable to resist this solemn appeal, for some time he indulged him, till finding that the consequence of longer delay must be inevitable destruction to both, he was compelled to shake him off. A servant belonging to some of the party still kept on, and poor Vanderfield was seen to continue his efforts, till at last, nature being completely exhausted, he dropped, and was soon relieved from his miseries by death. Nor was the survivor far more enviable, when, having with difficulty reached the building, after which they had toiled so long, it proved to be an uninhabited shed. Giving himself up for lost, the French gentleman laid down under the shelter of the wall to await his last moment (the servant walked forward and was found dead a little further on). Now it so happened that an Arabian beggar chanced to pass by the wall, who seeing his condition, kindly ran to procure some water, but did not return for an hour. What an age of torture, of horrible suspense, for, if 'hope deferred maketh the heart sick,' the sensation must cause ten-fold anguish at a moment like this.

"The unhappy man was mindful of his brother, but, utterly unable to undertake the task himself, he directed the beggar as well as he could to the spot where he had left him with a supply of water. But, alas! all his endeavours to find the unfortunate men were ineffectual, nor were their bodies discovered. It is supposed that they crept for shelter from the sun into some unfrequented spot, and there expired. The survivor, by the assistance of the beggar, reached the hut of a poor woman, who kindly

received him, and through her care he was soon restored to strength, and arrived safely at Cairo after as miraculous an escape as ever human being experienced."

I must now take up the subject of Alexander Elliot once more ; and, first of all, I must give the concluding portion of the lengthy letter from Warren Hastings to his friend. It continues from the end of the first paragraph of page 238 of this volume of *Bengal : Past and Present*.

"We have a battalion of sepoy's already stationed in the districts bordering on Berar, and another added to it would be sufficient to answer any purpose for which they might be wanted. It is impossible to foresee the circumstances on which our interposition may be demanded, or on which it could be honourably given, and therefore impossible to anticipate the mode of it.

"You are already well acquainted, however, with the general system which I wish to be established in India, namely to extend the influence of the British nation to every part of India not too remote from their possessions, without enlarging the circle of their defence or involving them in hazardous or indefinite engagements, and to accept of the allegiance of such of our neighbours as shall sue to be enlisted among the friends and allies of the King of Great Britain. The late Nabob Sujah Dowla, who wanted neither pride nor understanding, would have thought it an honour to be called the Vizier of the King of England, and offered at one time to coin *siccas* in His Majesty's name. Nor was this a mere visionary project ; the credit of such a connection with a power which has for a long time past made so considerable a figure in Hindustan would of itself be a great advantage. But I am afraid that his chief inducement arose from a great defect in our political constitution of which he had severely felt the bad effects ; I mean the rapid succession of persons entrusted (under whatever name or character) with the rule and administration of the British affairs in this part of our Indian possessions ; the consequent want of consistency in their measures, and even in their attachments and engagements ; and the caprices to which he was so often exposed on the same account. Had he possessed the spirit of foresight, he would have severe cause for these reflections in the miserable state of penury and servitude to which his son has been since reduced, ineffectually to our interests as every excess of our power beyond its proper bounds will ever defeat its own purposes. Nor indeed has the son such cause to complain of an injury, which he has scarce sense or sensibility to discover ; although it must be redressed, whenever that state has a more worthy ruler, and the sovereignty restored with all its rights unimpaired to this lawful proprietor. But I wander from my subject. My intention in this digression is to show the advantages which would be derived both by Government and its allies from a direct engagement made with the sanction of the King's name, which would secure it from wanton and licentious violation, and render the subjects of it more certain and durable.

"On this footing I would replace the subaship of Oude. On this footing I would establish an alliance with Berar. These countries are of more importance to us than any other from their contiguity to ours, and therefore it is of consequence to settle their connection with us before that of any other. But the same system might be rendered more extensive by time, and by the observance of a steady principle of conduct, and an invariable attachment to personal engagements.

"I will not here enumerate all the advantages, which may be derived from this plan, to you especially, to whom I have long explained personally my views and sentiments upon

this subject. Indeed, except a short and rather obscure intimation of it in one of my letters to Lord North, I have communicated it to no person but Colonel Maclean and yourself; and that is my principal reason among others for having written to you rather than anyone else upon the various points contained in this letter. To enable me to carry it into execution, I must be released from the restrictions which I at present lie under; I must have discretionary powers, and a fixed channel of correspondence.

"I shall follow the subject no further, but leave it here to your discretion to make such use of it as you shall judge most likely to prove effectual to its execution or to suppress it. I am aware that I tread on dangerous ground, exposed to the ill-will of the Company, if they look to the renewal of their charter, and to all the popular and rooted prejudices which are entertained against the expansive projects of military enterprise, and the injustice of disturbing the peace of our quiet neighbours; for this construction will be given to it. To answer these and the other objections to this plan would require much time and argument; but though this might be necessary to the support of a proposition calculated for the public eye, it will not be wanted on this occasion as I hope it will only be seen by those who are to adopt it, and to whom its obvious consequences will need little explanation. I trust it to you in confidence, a desire that you will impart it with the same caution, that I may not suffer by the attempts to raise the power of my country, and to extend the influence of the King's name among nations to which it is yet unknown, if the means which I have recommended should be judged inadequate to such laudable ends, or impolitic with respect to other circumstances. Of their justice and moral propriety I have no doubt. I am ever, my dear Elliot, your most affectionate friend."

THE next letter, which I quote, brings out in the most striking way the implicit confidence, which Hastings, at that time about forty-five years of age, and after twenty-seven years of the most arduous not to say desperate service in Bengal, reposed in a youth who, had he been bent on an ecclesiastical career, would have not as yet have reached the age at which he could have been canonically admitted to the order of the diaconate. In a letter dated 10th February, 1777, Hastings writes:—

"I cannot even communicate a subject of this nature through any official channel. If I write to the Secret Committee, they are too many to be entrusted with it. They may not all be disposed to receive a proposition from me with candour; and bodies of men, however small, are always indifferent to the business which is brought regularly before them. I cannot write to the Chairman, because in the first place I know not who he is; and in the second because both gentlemen who hold the first stations in the Direction at this time, are as I understand my professed enemies, and would be therefore more likely to draw conclusions from what I wrote to my disadvantage than to adopt my recommendations. Neither can I approach the King's minister on such an occasion without some preparatory caution, in which his leisure, his inclination, and the ability of the times should be consulted.

"It is impossible for me to foresee what may be the dispositions in England when this letter shall arrive. It is equally impossible to reconcile the different orders, which the Court of Directors last year gave us for our conduct towards the powers of India. They desire us upon no account to enter into any wars, however advantageous to the Company, and they, at the same time, direct us to co-operate with the Presidency of Bombay in keeping

possession of the lands which Ragobah ceded to them by treaty. The first is an absolute prohibition to interfere in the politics of India. The last is a positive order to interfere, and engage in a war with the first power in India.

"Being thus at a loss to judge of the views of the Court of Directors, I am still more so to judge of those of the King, to the knowledge of which I have no access. I must therefore leave it to you to consider well the depositions of the times and of the ministers. If you have reason to believe that such a system as I have recommended will be approved, I trust to make use of such means as you shall judge most likely to promote it. If, on the contrary, men's minds are adverse to the extension of our influence, you had best say nothing about it, as it can serve no useful purpose, and may be turned to our disadvantage."

IT is impossible, at Calcutta, to determine what use Alexander Elliot made of these letters. Was he granted direct access to George III? Did Lord North ever see the first of the letters of Warren Hastings I have quoted? Did Elliot return to Calcutta with a mandate to carry Hastings' policy into execution? The Home Records may some day supply the answer; but, for the present, all that can be said is that Elliot, shortly after his return to Bengal, went forth on a mission to Berar, which, although defeated by his untimely death, was pregnant with the full consequence of the British Empire, and entitles the hero, whose mortal remains lie at Sarangarh, to his place in the history of the builders of British Indian Empire.

AND now I must travel back to page 229 of the present volume. "The fact is," I wrote last April, "that, while at Marsailles the ever vigilant Elliot had been apprised of a new design to re-establish in India all that had been lost to the French at Wandewash. The story of this discovery must be reserved to a future issue of *Bengal: Past and Present*." It is exceedingly unfortunate that the date and place from which this letter was written cannot be ascertained in Calcutta, but by kind permission of the Government of India, I am enabled to print it here from a copy taken at the Imperial Records Office. The original is probably in the British Museum collection of Hastings' MSS.

"Having been fortunate enough to obtain some intelligence before I left Europe in which the interest of the East India Company and the influence of Great Britain in India appear to me to be deeply interested, I think it be incumbent on me to take the earliest opportunity of communicating it to your Honourable Board. I am concerned, at the same time, to be under the necessity of laying the facts only before you, without having it in my power to point out the channels through which the intelligence was conveyed to me, as my promise was most particularly taken before I was myself entrusted with it, that I should conceal the names of the persons from whom I received the information. It was not without some difficulty that I obtained permission to inform the Governor-General and Sir John Claverling of this material circumstance, and that only upon condition that they should not trust it to the

records of the Company, however secret they might be. The opinions which these gentlemen must form as to the authenticity of the facts which I now propose myself the honour of laying before you, will be a sufficient justification of me for addressing you in this letter.

"It appears by the information to which I allude that Mons. Sartine, (*sic*) *Minister de la Marine* of France, has concerted with three or four of the principal Ministers of that country, a scheme the object of which is the total overthrow of the English interest in India; that he was sensible the force which France could herself bring against our settlements would prove insufficient for so great an undertaking, and had, therefore, thought it necessary to the completion of his views, to begin by intriguing with the country powers, and by endeavouring to secure them in the interests of France in opposition to those of Britain; that for this purpose it was resolved to send a person to India with full powers in the character of an agent, and likewise to send out persons who in the information are called *des exercices*, to discipline the natives of India, and a considerable quantity of arms and military stores. The person who was nominated to this office was described to me as one who had before been in India. He was to go to Pondicherry first; but to assume no public character, that he might not be subjected to the suspicions of the English. He is furnished with letters from the Court of France to all the country princes of any note in India, to be used at his own discretion. He likewise carries out presents of considerable value, which he is to distribute as he may judge necessary. The substance of his instructions is as follows: To treat with such of the country powers as he may have reason to think will most readily assist the views of France, and to form alliances with them in the name of the King of France. To endeavour to persuade the country powers to fall upon the English Settlements, and he is authorised to promise, such as will accede to his proposal the warmest support of his nation—secretly till hostilities are actually commenced, and then openly. He is warned, however, in his instructions that France is not to take the lead in the war, but is to come in as an assistant only. The person from whom I learned these particulars knew for certain that the agent sailed from Marseilles in the beginning of April last, but was unacquainted with his name, and unable to inform me for certain what route he had followed to India, but seemed to be of opinion that he must have passed over to Alexandria, in the intention of embarking at Suez for India.

"Having informed you of what I venture to say may be relied on as authentick, it will not be misplaced to add an account more in detail of some inquiries which my knowledge of the above circumstances led me to make, which though by no means so successful as my zeal on this occasion would make me wish, will not, I flatter myself be deemed unworthy of your notice.

"A circumstance which I learned from Colonel Capper, who had passed through Egypt in February last, and was confirmed to me by Mr. Dighton, who was in his company, rendered it very probable that the Agent had passed through that country on his way to India. That the French Consul at Cairo was in daily expectation of the arrival of a ship at Cairo, when they passed through that town, and I was told by Mr. Baldwin, an English gentleman residing at Cairo, that, when an account was brought of a ship being seen off Tor in the Red Sea, which afterwards proved to be the *Swallow* sloop of war, the French Consul said in his hearing that he was sure it was a French ship as he had certain intelligence that one was despatched from India which should arrive about that time. I was assured nevertheless by three or four French merchants at Cairo, from whom I made inquiries on this subject, that they never had had any expectation of seeing a French ship at Suez, and I learned at Mocha that there has not been a single French ship in the Red Sea this year. In passing through Marseilles, I made all the inquiries that I could without rendering

myself suspicious, but could learn nothing of any consequence, but that some ships had sailed from that port early in the year for India. As there was no ship to sail from Suez under three weeks or a month after my arrival at Cairo, I had an opportunity of tracing a gentleman who had left Cairo a few days before my arrival, and who in many particulars answered to the description given to me of the French Agent on the other side of the water. It appears from the intelligence which I received, which was principally derived from Mr. Baldwin, and partly from the gentlemen of the French Factory in Egypt, and from a Turk whom I shall afterwards have occasion to mention more particularly, that early in April, a French gentleman wearing a cross and calling himself the Chevalier de Montagnii, arrived at Cairo from France. It was reported, on his first arrival, that he was going to India, but, after having staid at Cairo about a month, that report was entirely dropped; and, upon my asking the question of the French Consul, was positively contradicted. He associated but little with the gentlemen of Cairo—which is uncommon where the society of Europeans is so small.

A Venetian gentleman and a Janissary, who attended upon the Chevalier, informed Mr. Baldwin and myself that he had a Persian master whilst at Cairo, and used to study that language great part of the day. With some difficulty the man, a native of Damascus, with whom he had studied, was traced, and I had an opportunity of conversing with him more than once. From him I learned that the Chevalier had studied Persian with him about six weeks or two months from his departure from Cairo, that he understood the language a little before he came to Egypt, and was able to converse in it, though not without some difficulty, that he brought Persian books with him from France, the names of which were mentioned to me, and had likewise many Persian letters, which upon questioning the Turk, I found were letters from Hindustan, as their Alcabs or complimentary addresses are used in Hindustan only, and that his attention was given more to these than to the books, and that he informed this man he was going to India, and offered him advantageous appointments if he would accompany him, which from apprehension of the danger of a sea voyage was refused by the Turk. About the 10th of June, he went away from Cairo in a very secret manner, taking leave of no one, as is always customary amongst the Europeans at Cairo, which was not only observed as a singularity by Mr. Baldwin and the Venetians, but likewise by the French merchants, who expressed their astonishment at what they deemed a want of politeness. It is observable that he left Cairo the day after the arrival of a mail from France. Mr. Baldwin would have remained ignorant of his departure, as the Chevalier had not been visible for a month before, had he not by mere accident seen a considerable quantity of baggage going out of Cairo, which upon inquiry he found to be his, and he was then told by the Arabs, a body of whom always escort travellers across the desert, that they were going to Suez. The air of mystery with which everything was conducted that had any relation to this gentleman, led Mr. Baldwin to be more particular in his enquiry and the Custom Master, a native of Egypt, and who could consequently have but little idea of the jealousy subsisting between the two nations, observed that there must be something very particular in this gentleman, who though there were four English vessels at Suez, could not be persuaded to embark in one of them for India, where he was going, but was resolved to go to Jeddah or Mocha on a boat in which he was subjected both to danger and delay. I cannot help dwelling a little upon this circumstance, because it seems to be a strong presumptive proof that the Chevalier is in some shape employed by the Court of France. It was necessary to apply to the Custom Master from his office for a country boat; and he was the person whom I conjecture advised him to embark on board an English vessel, and unless the Chevalier's dislike to this mode had been expressed in a

manner very marked, it is not probable that a native of Cairo would have drawn such a conclusion from it. The misfortune which befel Monsieur Grand Maison and the seizure of his papers after his death on board the *Terrible* is a circumstance with which your Board must be acquainted, and of which the Chevalier could not be ignorant, as I myself heard it related at Cairo, after which it is not to be wondered at if he would not trust himself in an English vessel. The last circumstance which I learned at Cairo seems to be the most conclusive, which is that he was furnished with a very large credit by the Court of France, and this circumstance I rely upon as authentick, because I was informed of it by a French merchant at Cairo, and likewise by a French *renegado* at Suez, who learned it from the Chevalier's own servant. It will not be misplaced here to observe that Monsieur Grand Maison had a similar credit for ten thousand Venetian sequins, about £4,000. When I enquired whether it was customary for the Court of France to grant such credits, the French gentleman who informed me of it seemed sensible that he had committed an imprudence, and said that he imagined the Chevalier de Montagnii was employed by the Court as a man of literature and knowledge to make a journey into Egypt. Upon my arrival at Suez, I found that the Chevalier had been there, and not being able to find a boat that would sail with him in less than three weeks, had made a journey to Mount Sinai, from whence he returned a few days before my arrival at Suez and had sailed for Jeddah about the 18th of July. I thought it worth while to enquire whether he had used any mathematical instruments in his excursion to Mount Sinai, and was assured by the Arabs who accompanied him, that he had carried none with him having left his baggage at Suez. Had he been employed as a literary traveller, he certainly must have used instruments. The servant told the *renegado* that he was a traveller of curiosity and meant to go from Jeddah to Mecca ; this was not possible as he embarked avowedly as a Christian, and it is notorious that the Mahometans allow no Christians to approach a city which they esteem so holy, and which they would conceive to be polluted by the presence of those whom they call infidels.

I have thought it necessary to be very minute in the account of what I was able to discover relative to this gentleman, because it appears to me that he must be employed by his Court in some shape or another, though there are many circumstances which render it probable that he is not the person entrusted with the commission mentioned in the first part of my letter. Though the French title of Chevalier is a title which carries little or indeed no importance in it in any part of Europe it is not so common in India, and if the Chevalier de Montagnii should turn out to be the agent, the Court of France will certainly in some shape have departed from their original plan which was to give him as little external consequence as possible. I was likewise told at Cairo that he is himself a Major in the army, and the son of a person who either is or has been a Fermier-General, and that his family by a late promotion became *noblesse*. There is one part of the intelligence I received at Cairo which does not agree with the information given me in Europe, as it was positively asserted that he had never before been in India, though the truth of this assertion may be doubted, as his talking Persian and his being in possession of Indian correspondence are sufficient reasons for suspecting that he had been there. One French gentleman went so far to say that he was a man, *qui vouloit se donner du merite envers les Bureaux*. If the Chevalier de Montagnii had been entrusted with so important a commission, it is very extraordinary that a vessel should not have been ready to receive him at Suez, and none having come into the Red Sea in the course of the whole year affords a strong presumption that he is not the person, though it by no means amounts to a proof as many possible accidents may have occasioned such a mistake ; and, it must be observed on the other

hand, that the French Consul who is the national agent there assured himself that one would arrive. The French merchants disagreeing with him in this expectation leaves room to conjecture that the ship he expected was employed by the Government, and not upon a trading vessel as he is himself restricted from trade. On the whole I doubt not your Hon'ble Board will deem the appearance sufficiently strong to think it worth while to take some steps to clear up whatever may appear doubtful about this gentleman, and as it is possible, and indeed likely that he may assume another name and character upon his arrival at Mocha, I made particular enquiries about his person, and venture to add, however useless it may be, the description I received of it. He is short in his stature, stoops much, and looks down when he is speaking with any one; his hair is brown and his complexion incllnable to be dark; his legs are remarkably ill-proportioned being nearly as thick at bottom as at top. He is accompanied by an European servant, who is a stout, tall man.

He will in all probability make an exceeding long voyage down the Red Sea, and will not be able to reach Mocha till the latter end of August: he will find no French ship at Mocha, and will be reduced to the necessity of embarking on board the *Alexander*, an English ship trading in the Red Sea, or of going overland to Muscat on the Persian Gulph, journey not to be performed without much difficulty and great delays. It is, however, possible that he may arrive in time enough to sail in a Portuguese ship, which intended to sail from Mocha to Surat about the 20th of August. At any rate, I think it is not possible that he should be landed in any part of India before the end of October.

UNFORTUNATELY, in placing this letter on the Consultations of the Secret Department (February 2, 1778), the copyist omitted to give the date and place at which it was written. It is clear that the letter was written before Elliot had heard of Sir John Clavering's death, which took place August 30, 1777, when the former was on his way back to India. "Before I left Europe" shows that the letter was written after May 1777. On April 6, 1778, Warren Hastings, in a Minute, refers to "Mr. Elliot's letters which he [*i.e.*, Elliot] circulated amongst the members of the Board." This, I conjecture, shows that the letter was probably written from Suez but brought to Calcutta by the writer himself. The information of Sartines' designs was in itself sound, but Elliot was too late in the field. He left England in May 1777, but St. Lubin, the actual emissary had reached Chaul on March 16, and was playing mischief at Poona in May. The letter, although it records a hunt on a false scent, gives striking proof of Elliot's magnificent zeal. Warren Hastings, in his minute of April 6, 1778, endeavours to connect Elliot's discoveries with the official accounts received from Bombay of the doings of St. Lubin at Poona, but it is clear that the person whom Elliot went in search of was not St. Lubin. That mysterious person left France on a private trading vessel chartered for a voyage to China, and he would have gone round the Cape and not entered the Red Sea.

ALEXANDER ELLIOT left England on his return journey to India on either May 13 or May 14, 1777. Welbore Ellis writes on the first of these dates to Francis:—"Mr. Elliot proposes to go overland from Alexandria to Suez, which has been found so convenient and expeditious a road, that I believe the intercourse will be very frequent by that channel, especially as I understand that the Company have ordered two vessels to be employed as packets alternatively from that station." The letter concludes "Mr. Elliot sends me word that he is to set out this evening or early to-morrow morning."

A LETTER relative to Elliot's return voyage is worth placing on record.

Fort William, October 6, 1777.

HON'BLE SIR AND GENTLEMEN,

Having been entrusted with a packet for your Government by the Hon'ble Court of Directors for which I gave a receipt in form and having been put to a considerable extraordinary expense on account of the Despatch with which I thought it incumbent upon me to convey it, I take the Liberty of requesting you will reimburse me in the Expenses I have been at. I beg leave at the same time to observe that my claim is founded upon custom in such cases and that the Bearer of a Packet to Madras of a subsequent date to my Departure from London has been allowed five hundred pounds for his Expenses though he was not obliged to freight a ship from Marseilles to Alexandria as I was. I hope you will not think I am unreasonable in charging four thousand rupees for the whole of my Expenses as my Voyage across the Mediterranean alone cost me two hundred pounds.

I have the honour to be

With much Respect,

Hon'ble Sir and Gentlemen,

Your most obedient and most humble Servant,

ALEX. ELLIOT.

AFTER his return, Elliot was much occupied in the endeavour to bring about an understanding between Hastings and Francis. On the very day after Elliot's return we find Francis recording "September 30th, Visit from Elliot. Sly devil!" Early in December, Edward Wheler, the new member of the Supreme Council, arrived in the *Hughli*. The anxiety of either party to secure this important ally led to a rather ludicrous consequence. Francis sent his friend Livius with carriages to meet Wheler at Budge Budge and bring him up to Calcutta; the Governor sent Elliot with carriages, and Barwell sent his state coach. Francis records this on December 6, and then on the 11th he notes "in spite of all Mr. Elliot's courtship and artifices, Wheler passes by Budge Budge and lands at Calcutta, immediately visits me, and takes his seat on the Board." Francis rightly characterises Wheler's conduct as a gross affront to the Governor-General, but perhaps Livius may have seen in it something of a snub for his patron also. It must be remembered that at this time the Supreme Court was taking action calculated

to unite the Council in resistance to the Judge's pretensions. It might have seemed that the prospect of an *entente cordiale* between the two rivals in the Council was within the range of practical politics, but it was not so. The following extracts from the *Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis* will carry us on from these hopeless attempts at negotiation to Elliot's final mission.

"December 17th.—Elliot waited on him [Wheler] last night with a formal embassy from H.; that he, W., should make a public declaration of his own moderation, etc., and convey to me a plan of accommodation. He only mentioned two of the articles proposed: to declare the Nabob of age, *i.e.*, to remove Mahomed Reza Cawn, and to make a settlement for 1778 on the present footing. My answer is that I can enter into no compacts, but repeat what I have often told him that if he will conduct the Government moderately and without innovations, I have no objection. Meet Elliot at Mrs. Hyde's; he desires a conference, fixed for to-morrow evening.

"December 18th.—Wheler absent. I begin to suspect that his illness is political.....Elliot comes at 6. His talents for negotiation are really considerable, formed under the tuition of Maclean. He proposes an avowed coalition with Hastings, and for this purpose he offers me any personal terms I can desire. Among other things, he asserts that this is the wish of people in power at home, and that nothing can do me more credit, and that it is Wheler's disposition; and that if I consult him, he will tell me so. I absolutely reject the idea of union, but declare my resolution to stand purely on the defensive dissenting when I disapprove in order to clear myself of all responsibility. I shall give him my answer to-morrow.

"December 19th.....I meet Elliot everywhere. Offer to send my answer in writing, which he declines. In the evening give him a short flat negative."

ON Sunday, July 12, 1778, Elliot went to bid farewell to the author of the *Letters of Junius* in the garden where a little more than twenty years after William Makepeace Thackeray would be playing with his nurse. It was then, on his last Sunday in Calcutta, Elliot revealed, "unadvisedly" says Francis, the extent of Hastings' "present plan." "Ragoba is to be set aside; the Government of the Peishwa and Ministry to be demolished. Moodaje Boosla constituted Sovereign at the commencement of a French war! A great deal of cajolery, as usual, from Elliot." On July 17, J. P. Auriol, "with great affectation of mystery, and despatch, etc.," brought to Francis Elliot's Instructions, and Francis at once drew up an hostile minute, which he sent on to Wheler. "We agreed," he says, "in suspecting Hastings of the

worse designs." Pity and contempt are blended in Hastings' comment : "Francis and Wheler have protested against Elliot's instructions. Francis in good language, but abundantly weak in argument : Wheler, poor fellow, has not yet got hold of the subject." The discovery of Hastings' plans to Francis that Sunday at Alipur—so unadvised as Francis thought—looks very much like a mark of the Proconsul's contempt for the faculties of his would-be rival. On July 20, 1778, Hastings wrote to Impey : "Elliot is gone. A most critical service, but likely to prove the era of a new system in the British Empire if it succeeds." Elliot was to die before reaching his destination : but the system, which his mission inaugurated, has in other hand realised to the full the expectations of its mighty author.

THE nature of the Alexander Elliot Mission to the Mahratta Court of Berar has been fully indicated in Warren Hastings' lengthy letters already quoted. In a few words, Elliot was, in anticipation of the later policy of Subsidiary alliances, to form an Alliance with the Berar House as against the Poona House, which was under the influence of Nana Farnavis and the French. It cannot be too much regretted that Mr. G. W. Forrest, in his *Selections from the Letters, Despatches and other State Papers preserved in the Foreign Department of the Government of India*, has allowed the subject of Elliot's mission to slip out of consideration. It is far too big a subject for me to attempt even to sketch in the casual "Leaves from the Editor's Note Book," but it is one which deserves the attention of the historian. The documents, which, by the kind permission of the Government of India, I am now able to give for the first time to students of Anglo-Indian History, will be of value to those who, unlike myself, have some opportunity of making use of original research. I am afraid they will prove tedious to the "general reader," but to the scholar they will, I trust, prove inspiring.

EXCERPT NO. I.

"1778.

"TO MAHARAJAH MOODHAJEE BHOOSILA.

"I have received most authentic Intelligence from different Channels that the French are carrying on Intrigues at Poona, partly with a view of forming an advantageous Alliance for their own Nation, and partly with a view to Destroying the Friendship which * * * time subsisted between the English and the Mahratta Government. I have likewise learnt that the French Agent, St. Lubin, has met with great Encouragement from some of the Chiefs, that a Treaty has actually been concluded with him, and the valuable Port

* These asterisks mark where the original document (a bad copy only) is defaced.

of Choul * * * granted to the French which * * * * * case distant from * * * * * of this Port not only marks Indisposition towards us but puts into the hands of the French an Arsenal where they may collect musketry stores and make Preparations for attacking our Possessions when we are unaware of their Designs.

"I now, having the general superintendence of the whole English Force in India have nothing to fear from the Exertions of a Nation who are Infants in Strength in India, and who must transport every soldier they have to bring into the Field from a distant Country and over a wide Ocean; and the Conduct of such of the Maratta Chiefs as may have joined the French in preference to the English Interests excites my Pity for their want of Wisdom rather than my anger for their Presumption. It is my duty however to * * * the future effects of their Intrigues, for if I permit the Enemies of the King of England and the Company to gather strength through my own * * * * * suffer in its Interests from any Thing they can do, the Lives of many men may be sacrificed in repelling Attacks for which we might not be prepared in one part of our Dominion, though we should have more than sufficient time on this side of India to punish our Enemies for whatever loss our Government might suffer from such Disturbance.

"For these Reasons I have resolved to send a strong military Force to reinforce our Settlement at Bombay, and have directed a large Detachment with a well appointed artillery commanded by experienced officers to assemble at Culpee that they may be ready to march towards Bombay. There are two roads by which they may march; one by Soubah Malwa, the other through Berar. The Road through Soubah Malwah is the shortest, but I have not yet formed any Friendship with the Rulers of the Countries situated on that Road, and as my Enemies are your Enemies and our wishes in all things the same, I have resolved that my Troops shall pass through Berar on their way to Bombay, that thereby * * * our Friendship may be declared to all the World and that the seeds of an alliance between the English and you, which has long been both my desire and your's, may be [MS. defaced.]

"It will be better if you send a trusty Person and Part of your own Army to accompany ours. I assure myself you will give me this proof of your Friendship, that the whole world may be a witness of its Sincerity, but as it is necessary to be certain of your consent before the Troops have proceeded too far I desire that if you should not chuse to comply with this Request, you will give Notice of it to the Commander of the Detachment who will accordingly take another Road. But this I will not suppose.

"WARREN HASTINGS."

*These asterisks mark where the original document (a bad copy only) is defaced.

EXCERPT No. 2.

" TO MAHARAJAH MODAJEE BHOSILA

Written the 11th July 1778.

" I have been favored with your Letter,—(*vide* Secret Dept. Consul, 4th July)—in which you say, etc., purport of his Letter.

" The anxieties which you have shewn to discover the real Design of the Ministers of Poonah is a proof of the warmth and Sincerity of your Friendship. The Letter dictated by them in the name of the Peishwa containing a Denial of the Engagement imputed to them with the French Agent at Poona is no proof that it does not exist. I have undeniable proofs of the contrary, and you will no longer doubt their Treachery when I tell you that one of the Principal Brahmins has acknowledged that a Treaty and Alliance has been concluded between one of their Body and the French Agent, and I am in Possession of the copies of many Letters which have passed between the French Agent at Poona and the Viceroy of Goa, in which the former desires permission for French Troops to land at Goa and to march through the Portuguese Pergannahs to Poonah.

" It is no longer proper that I, whom am entrusted by the King of England and the Company with the superintendence of their affairs and armies, should remain an idle spectator of such deeds of perfidy, specially as the King, my Master, has been obliged by the Behaviour of the French in Europe to declare war against them, which he did on the 18th of March 1778 or 18th of Suffer 1192 Hijeree. But you, my friend, have great interest in the affairs of Poonah, not only because you are the Principal Chief of that Empire, but because you are connected by blood with the antient Rajahs of Sittara ; I have determined, therefore, that I will take in steps in consequence of the breach of faith on the part of the Ministers, lest through ignorance I should hurt your interests, without first consulting you. For this Reason, and because I know that those who are Enemies to my Nation are also your's as I shall hereafter explain. I have resolved to send Mr. Elliot, a gentleman of my own house, to communicate to you fully my sentiments. Beneram Pundit will tell you how entirely this gentleman has my confidence. I cannot give a stronger proof of my sincerity than by sending you my most confidential Dependent. He is perfectly acquainted with the political state of Hindoostan : he has made the Maratta affairs his study, but knowing the great interest I take in everything which relates to you, he has applied himself to obtain particular knowledge of the affairs of Berar. Nothing, however, secret has passed between you and me by letter or through Beneram Pundit but what he is informed of. He is fully empowered by me and by the Council of this place to negotiate and conclude a treaty of perpetual alliance between

you and the English Government, but the commission he is entrusted with is too secret to be written. He will leave Calcutta the 18th instant or 2nd * * * and will go by Dawk to Cuttack in eight days: from thence he will set off to proceed through Darrah Sing's and Bemajee's countries to Nagpore. I hope that you will send people to meet him whenever you receive this letter and endeavour to make his journey safe and expeditious. I send one copy of this letter by the way of Benares, and another by Cuttack, that you may be sure to receive it. I have ordered the troops under Colonel Leslie not to go further than Berar till Mr. Elliot's arrival at Nagpore, that when you have been consulted * * * * determined what is to be done.

"WARREN HASTINGS."

EXCERPT NO. 3.

"TO BENERAM PUNDIT.

"By the Blessing of God, the Period is now arrived which gives me an Opportunity of manifesting in the most eminent degree the Friendship and Regard which I entertain for the Maharajah, your Master. The King of England, my Sovereign, has lately been compelled by the ill Behaviour of the French in Europe to declare War against them, which he did on the 18th of March 1778 or 18th of Suffer 1192 Hijeree. As the Maharajah has great Interests in the affairs of Poonah, not only because he is the principal Chief of that Empire, but because he is connected by blood with the antient Rajah of Satara, I hence determined therefore that I will take no steps in consequence of the Breach of Faith on the part of the Poonah Ministers in forming a Treaty with the French, lest through ignorance in punishing them I should hurt his Interests, without first consulting him. For this Reason, and because I know that those who are Enemies to my Nation are also your Master's, I have resolved to depute to Nagpore Mr. A. Elliot who is one of my nearest Friends, on which subject it is needless for me to enlarge, as you are well acquainted with his quality, rank, and the warm friendship and attachment he bears to me, as well as the entire confidence I place in him, so that he may be considered as the Channel of my Sentiments—he is entirely attached to me, and it gives me great Concern to part with him, having no Person to be compared to him, yet actuated by Sentiments of the most sincere Regard to the Maharajah, I shall give him his Dismission on the 18th of July or 22nd of Jummadee Assame. He will proceed by the way of Cuttack. He is invested with full Powers from me and the Council of this Place. Whatever he does will be approved and certified. It is necessary then that you immediately on the Receipt of this * * * the army and repair with all possible Expedition to your Master, and fully and distinctly explain to the Maharajah

and his Dewan Deyagur Pundit all the Particulars relative to Mr. Elliot. I have dispatched letters on this subject to the Maharajah and his Dewan by the way of Benares and Duplicates by the way of Cuttack, which will probably reach Nagpore before your arrival there. I place the most implicit confidence in you. It is necessary that regarding Mr. Elliot's pleasure as mine, you afford him your utmost support and assistance on every occasion, and pay the greatest attention to his welfare. You will learn further particulars from your Brother's letter.

"Postscript.—I have written to Colonel Leslie to give you your Dismission that you may repair with all expedition to Nagpore. I rely on you that you will exert yourself so warmly with your Master and his Dewan as to ensure a fortunate Issue to the Negotiations entrusted to Mr. Elliot which will be productive of the most advantageous consequences to both states, will oblige me, and redound greatly to your own credit."

EXCERPT NO. 4.

"TO RAJAH RAM PUNDIT.

"I am about to depute Mr. Elliot, my most intimate Friend and confident, in the character of ambassador to Maharajah Modajee Bhosila at Nagpore. I have by Letter informed the Rajah of that Gentleman's Rank and the powers he is invested with, which you will likewise learn by the Letters of Bissember Pundit. It is my wish that Mr. Elliot should proceed to Nagpore with every possible Degree of Expedition. As the Maharajah, your Master, and I are united in the most intimate connection, I have not furnished this Gentleman with Tents and other Necessaries for his journey, and have fixed on the 23rd of Jumadee Ulsami, or 6th of Sawan, being 10 days from this date, for his Departure from Calcutta by Dawk, my officers will station bearers and necessaries for him to Balasore, and Mr. Marriott, Resident of Balasore, has received Orders to lay Bearers for him from thence to Jagepore. It is necessary that you station Bearers from thence to Cuttack, at the Distance of 4 coss from each other, 24 Bearers at each stage, to carry Mr. Elliot and his Moonshey, that on his arrival at Jagepore which will be about the 26 or 27 Instant, he may not be delayed a Minute. You will also prepare 2 or 3 good tents such as will prevent that gentleman and his people suffering by the rains, also some Horsemen, Bearers and Coolies, and whatever else you may judge necessary for his safe and convenient Journey from Cuttack to Nagpore, that they may be ready on his arrival, and he be enabled to proceed immediately to Nagpore in Company with Mr. Anderson and the other Gentlemen who are *** arrived at Cuttack before the time. Knowing your support and assistance on every Occasion to this Gentleman and his Peoples as incumbent on you from the Friendship which subsists between

your Master and me, you will take such effectual measures to obviate every Difficulty in their Route that they may arrive at Nagpore without being subject to Inconvenience. This will give equal Pleasure to the Maharajah, your Master, and to me. I shall despatch a letter to the Maharajah to-morrow ; as soon as it reaches you, be pleased to forward it by express cossids with the strictest orders to Nagpore."

EXCERPT NO. 5.

" Letters of Credence to Mr. Elliot, written the 20th July 1778.

" TO ALEXANDER ELLIOT, ESQUIRE.

"Whereas an intercourse of Friendship has long subsisted between this Government and that of Berar, and it is our Desire and we believe it to be that of Moodajee Bhoosilah, the Rajah or Chief for the Time being of Berar, to confirm and perpetuate the same by a formal Treaty of Alliance, we the Governor-General and Council in Virtue of the Powers vested in Us by the King and Parliament of Great Britain and by the English East India Company to direct and control the political affairs of all the Company's Settlements in India, relying on your Fidelity, Prudence and Integrity, have deputed to proceed to Nagpore or to such other Place where the Rajah shall reside and to negotiate and conclude with Maha Rajah Moodajee Bhooslah or the Rajah for the time being of the Province of Berar and its Dependencies, a Treaty of Peace and Friendship between him and his Heirs and Successors on one part and the English East India Company on the other on such terms as shall for the mutual Benefit, Honor and Satisfaction of both Parties, and we hereby give you full Powers to that Effect, declaring that we will ratify and confirm whatever shall be so concluded. You in our names and our Behalf, according to the Instructions with which we have furnished you for that purpose.

Given in Fort William under our Hands and the seal of the Company this 20th Day of July in the year of our Lord 1778, or 24 of Jummada Assanie 1192 Hijeree."

EXCERPT NO. 6.

" TO RAJAH RAM PUNDIT NAIB OF CUTTACK. *21st July.*

"A War having taken place between England and France, Mr. Chevalier, the Chief of the French Nation in Bengal, has made his escape from Chandernagore, and as I am informed has taken his Route through the Province of Orissa.

"As Friendship has long subsisted between the Rajahs of Berar and this Government, and particularly subsists at this Time between Maharajah

Moodajee Bhooslah and myself, I make no doubt you will readily comply with my Request to me your utmost Endeavours to apprehend the Person of Monsr. Chevalier and send him to me, or keep him in safe custody until you can receive the Instructions of the Rajah concerning him, and that you will observe the same Conduct with respect to all Frenchmen who pass that way, by securing them with their Papers till you receive Instructions how to dispose of them, constantly communicating all such Transactions to me. By your Compliance you will not only oblige me but the Rajah, your Master, and will give Honor to yourself."

THESE documents, published for the first time, illustrates the nature of Elliot's Mission. I now will give some letters which tell us of something about his sensational capture at Cuttack of the evading French Chiefs of Chandernagore and Balasore.

Cuttack, the 2nd August 1778.

HON'BLE SIR AND GENTLEMEN,

I have the pleasure to inform you that Mr. Chevalier and Mr. Sanson, the French Resident at Balasore, were yesterday seized and brought to the English factory and are now under my charge. Upon my arrival at Balasore I learnt from Mr. Marriot, the English Resident, that these two Gentlemen had quitted Balasore two or three days before my arrival and had proceeded towards Cuttack, I immediately ordered a Havildar and seven sepoys who had accompanied me from Midnapore to make the best of their way to this town, and left Balasore in the opinion that I should arrive two or three days before the Sepoys, but owing to the violence of the Rains, and to the want of Bearers, they overtook me at the Village about fifteen Cooss distant, and accompanied me from thence to Cuttack. Upon my arrival I found that the party of French Gentlemen, with whom I had been informed Mr. Chevalier was, had not quitted the town; but, owing to a mistaken description which had been given me of the dress in which Mr. Chevalier had made his escape, I imagined that he had been cautious enough to separate from his Countrymen. Having, however, received authentick information that he was one of three who arrived in European cloaths, I immediately waited upon Rajah Ram Pundit, and requested his Permission to seize the French Gentlemen, who had taken up their Residence in a Cutchuree within the walls of his Palace. He informed me that he had received a letter from the Governor-General the day before, desiring him to seize these Gentlemen, and had written to Rajah, Moodagee Boonslah his master for Orders, that, if the Rajah should in his answer direct him to seize them, they should be immediately sent to Bengal, and that in the meantime he had given orders at all the Courts that they should not be suffered to pass. As I knew that no answer would be received from Nagpore in less than forty days, I thought it right to press the Raja for his Consent that they should be immediately taken. I reminded him of the long Intercourse of friendship which had subsisted between our Government and the Rajah of Berar through the Vakeels of the Rajah, that I was sent to cement that friendship, and that it could not but be very ungrateful to my Superiors to hear that their declared Enemies were protected in the province immediately bordering upon their own. I read my Credentials to him and to the Dewan and requested that they would permit me to make myself master of Mr. Chevalier's Person. Rajah Ram Pundit appeared very averse to it,

and seemed to be of opinion that he could not do it without orders from Nagpore. He promised, however, to give me a decided answer next morning. The Reason, which the Rajah gave against seizing the French were reasonable, and I am very well assured that his aversion to it did not proceed from any bias in their favour, but from doubts which he *verily* entertained of the propriety of such a measure. I stationed Herculrahs in such a manner that none of the French could leave the Palace without my being immediately acquainted with it. I waited more formally upon the Rajah about twelve yesterday morning, accompanied by Captain Campbell, Lieutenant Anderson, and Mr. Farquhar ; and, after half an hour's Conversation with him and the Dewan, they gave their Consent to their being seized and delivered over to be confined in the English factory, till we could have an opportunity of sending them to Bengal or to Ganjam. The Rajah desired at the same time that one of his Sirdars might go to Mr. Chevalier, inform him of the friendship subsisting between the English and the Berar Governments, and to explain to him the necessity under which the Rajah thought himself of delivering him and his companion up. I had no objection to this, and only desired that Captain Campbell might be permitted to draw up the few Sepoys at a distance but within view of the Cutcherree where the French Gentlemen were, which precaution I thought necessary as they professed themselves ignorant of the Chevalier's person and as I was apprehensive that he might once more take his escape. We walked immediately from the Rajah's house to the Cutcherree, and drew up the men as had been agreed upon, with whom we all stayed whilst one of the Rajah's Officers went into the Cutcherree to give Mr. Chevalier the necessary information. After half an hour's debate, and after one or two messages had passed between Rajah Ram Pandit and Mr. Chevalier, he agreed to deliver himself up. I immediately went into them, and assured Mr. Chevalier and Mr. Sanson that they should be treated with all the respect due to their Rank and Characters, and we walked immediately down to the Factory.

I wrote to Ganjam, by Yesterday's dawk, desiring the Chief and Council to send an officer with twenty Sepoys to convoy the French Gentlemen to that place, but having mentioned this Circumstance to Mr. Chevalier yesterday evening, he seemed anxious to go to Bengal, where he left Mrs. Chevalier, and assured me upon his Honor that he had not the most distant intention of attempting another Escape, and that he would formally give me his Parole to proceed to Calcutta without the Escort of a single sepoy. I did not at that moment make any reply, but, after considering his proposal, accepted his Parole as contained in the original paper which I do myself the honor of forwarding to you under the same cover as this letter. I mentioned to him at the same time that it was proper that an English Gentleman should accompany him with the few sepoy who were with me and who were now to return to Midnapore, but that I would immediately countermand those I had sent for from Ganjam. I imagine they will set out from here in four or five days. I have written by to-day's post to Ganjam countermanding the sepoy and requesting that an officer alone may come to Cuttack. The sepoy will not in their march to Balasore have their Bayonets fixed. I have endeavoured, as well as the other English Gentlemen who are at Cuttack, to render the situation of Mr. Chevalier and Mr. Sanson as little disagreeable as possible, and I promise myself they will not complain of the treatment they have met with. I hope my conduct in this affair will meet with your approbation.

It will not be possible for me to knit this in less than a week if so soon. The Raja has ordered a troop of one hundred more to escort me to Nagpore who, added to the Bearers and Coolies, which it is absolutely necessary to take, will make our party amount to four hundred or five hundred people, and as some part of the country between this and Nagpore

Is totally uncultivated and very thinly inhabited, I have been under the necessity of consenting that a bazar shall accompany us, without which I am assured it will be impossible to perform the journey.

I have the Honor to be,
Hon'ble Sir and Gentlemen,
Your most obedient and most humble Servant,
ALEX. ELLIOT.

The Hon'ble Warren Hastings, Esq.,
Governor-General and Supreme Council.

Cuttack, August 9, 1778.

HON'BLE SIR AND GENTLEMEN,

I did myself the Honor of addressing you in duplicate on the 2nd Instant informing you of Mr. Chevalier's being made prisoner and inclosing you his and Mr. Sanson's Parole to proceed to Calcutta, etc. They left this town on Friday last and I doubt not they will reach Calcutta in nine or ten days.

As it appeared to me of the highest importance that some regular and secure mode should be established for the conveyance of your Orders to Col. Leslie and myself and of our addresses to you, I have taken the Liberty of directing Abdul Wadood, a Munshee employed by the Company, to superintend the Dawk which passes through this Town, to hire twelve good Cossids, and have ventured to promise that Mr. Marriot will be directed by your Hon'ble Board to add the amount of their pay to the monthly Establishment for the Dawk under his management. The pay they ask is only seven Rupees and a half per month for each man, which makes the whole amount of this addition to the present expense of the Dawk only 90 Dmassah Rupees. At present the conveyance of letters to Nagpore is very uncertain and irregular. I have directed the Munshee to despatch two Cossids every Saturday with whatever letters may come in the course of the week directed to Col. Leslie or myself, and not to despatch them on any other day unless he shall receive an order from Mr. Marriot at Balasore so to do. In any case, when expedition is necessary, I take the liberty of recommending that the letters may be inclosed to Mr. Marriot at Balasore by which no time will be lost as the packet must, of course, pass through his hands. The Dawk is six days between Calcutta and this town; and I hope with the precautions I have taken to receive your despatches seventeen or eighteen days after their arrival at Cuttack. If you approve of the directions I have given to the Munshee I beg that the necessary orders may be sent to Mr. Marriot or to the Post Master-General.

I leave Cuttack to-morrow morning and hope to reach Nagpore in about a month, as the Rains have fallen with much less violence there some days past and I hope the roads will be dry.

I have the Honor to be,
Hon'ble Sir and Gentlemen,
Your most obedient and most humble Servant,
ALEX. ELLIOT.

IN the collection of Warren Hastings MSS. at the British Museum are most probably to be found the confidential letters which passed between the Great Proconsul and his young friend: among these would be a letter referred to by Sydney C. Grier in her *Letters of Warren Hastings to His Wife*:



MONUMENT ERECTED OVER THE GRAVE OF ALEXANDER ELIOT BY WARREN HASTINGS.
(*Photo reproduced by the Gracious Permission of H. E. Lady Minto.*)

"Alexander Elliot, dying in the swamps near Cuttack, 'thinking of nothing but the public business in his delirium' and in his last letter entreating Hastings to supersede him, lest his plans should suffer by delay." Elliot died on September 12, 1778, at Sarangarh in the Chatisgarh Feudatory State. Sarangarh is, as a matter of fact, a good way from Cuttack—a good two hundred miles as the crow flies.

IT is interesting to note that the executors to Elliot's estate were George Bogle and Claud Alexander. Bogle is famous for his embassy (1774) to the Lama of Thibet, and it was during Bogle's absence on this adventurous journey that Elliot officiated for him as Secretary to the Select Committee and Registrar to the Sudder Dewani Adulat. After Elliot's death, Bogle wrote: "I cannot pass over the name of poor Elliot without a heavy heart. I never had, I never can have, so strong an esteem—I should say veneration—for anyone as I had for him, and I was happy beyond everybody in his friendship. I had not a thought that I concealed from him. He had none that he concealed from me. But alas! he is gone for ever." On February 10, 1781, Sir Gilbert Elliot (the future Governor-General) wrote to Bogle: "Give me leave to entreat some portion of that affection and confidence which my poor brother possessed, and which I have occasion to know he valued so highly. On my part I can freely offer you my heart. Our poor Allick had prepared us all for such a union, and it is now become a common duty in some degree to our common friend and a consolation to our common loss." Bogle died (at Calcutta, April 3, 1781) before Sir Gilbert's letter reached him. Claud Alexander also served as Executor to Bogle.* Bogle was thirty-four at his death: Elliot but twenty-three.

THE following eulogy of Elliot comes from an unexpected source—the pen of Gholam Husain Khan: "The Governor had taken care to facilitate the success of this expedition by dispatching to Great Nagpur, Mr. Elliot, a man, who, in sincerity of speech and propriety of conduct, had few equals amongst his own countrymen as well as amongst the Hindostanies."—*Seir Mutaqherin*, Vol. III., p. 99 (Cambray's Reprint).

By the kindness of Her Excellency, Lady Minto, I am enabled to reproduce here two excellent views of the monument raised by Warren

* Cf Clements R. Markham's *Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Thibet and of Thomas Manning to Lhasa*, 1876. On Oct. 5, 1778, a letter in the Imperial Records shows Elliot's Executors applying for a remittance of Rs. 30,000 "in the Company's cash by way of China," that amount apparently being Elliot's Estate. His salary as Superintendent of the Khalsa records was Rs. 1,200 per mensem.

Hastings to the memory of his faithful friend. It is most probable that in England there is a rich supply of materials for a life of Alexander Elliot, and the work of writing such a book would well repay the author who should undertake it. Perhaps, even here, fresh materials may come to hand : but I venture to think that these rather crudely executed notes represent fairly exhaustively what is to be learned about Alexander Elliot in Bengal.

SINCE my notes concerning J. B. Chevalier were finally passed for the Press, I have come across in manuscript John O'Donnell's own account of his sufferings in the Egyptian desert. While Mrs. Fay gives the names of the two Frenchmen as "Chevalier," O'Donnell calls them "St. Germaine." "De St. Germaine" would suggest the two sons of Pierre Renault, the defender of Chandernagore against Clive and Watson. The elder of these two sons was in the French Company, the younger in the Army. I have been misled by Mrs. Fay into a wrong conjecture. I can only plead that the conjecture was a very natural one. I had traced J. B. Chevalier's passage on a Danish ship from Serampore to Mocha, and he must have reached Egypt about the same time the Fays reached Alexandria.

I now have discovered that from Mocha, Monneron returned to Bengal. In a letter dated 10th September, 1779, Monneron writes to Warren Hastings from Ingili : "Persuaded as I am, Sir, that you will be sorry to be informed of M. Chevalier's fate ; I take the liberty of addressing to you the copy of his last letter which will make you familiar with it." If by "fate" death is meant, this is rather a sardonic touch : for Chevalier could not possibly have described his own end. The letter in question is dated (12th June, 1779) from a place, which I cannot trace, Sebelahah. It shows that Chevalier, who had had many troubles with the Arabs, was then on board a coffee boat bound for Kosseir, and from thence he and his party intended to make for the Nile, and so on to Cairo. If Chevalier, instead of making for the Nile direct from Kosseir, did indeed go to Suez, he would have been just in time to take part in O'Donnell's ill-fated march. But O'Donnell is more likely to be correct than Mrs. Fay, and we know nothing of any brother of Chevalier. Which we may ask of the two younger Renaults was the victim ? Was it the Civilian or the Soldier ? The latter, we may remember, was a godson of Dupleix. Of John O'Donnell, it may be said, that he had originally come out to India in 1771 as a Cadet on the Bombay Establishment, in which he had great expectations from the patronage accorded to him by Colonel Wedderburne. His patron having died, O'Donnell came on leave to Bengal, and was taken on as private secretary by John Bristow, the Resident at Lucknow, and the future husband of the lovely Emma Wrangham. In 1775, by Bristow's influence, he was appointed

Commissary of Supplies to the Nawab's Troops, and latterly Deputy Paymaster. When the Nawab's Army was handed over in 1778 to the Company, O'Donnell was superseded, and, in consequence, resigned his appointment. Then comes a very tangled tale as to O'Donnell's accounts, which I shall not attempt to unravel. The last I have heard of O'Donnell is his application in 1781 to be furnished with some Artillery invalids to man a privateer and tackle French merchantmen. In research work of this kind comparatively nothing will be achieved unless we are prepared to face the discredit which falls on to those who make wrong conjectures, and unless we ourselves are prepared to be both our own most cruel critics, and the first in the field in warfare against our own propositions.

IN the *General Note Book* for this quarter "K. N. D." gives the inscription to be found on the great memorial pillar in Patna graveyard. I do not know at what date this inscription was added, but I believe that until 1880 the monument bore no inscription at all. In that year Sir Ashley Eden's Government inserted a tablet, which not only gave a wrong date for the Massacre, but contained the names of several officers who died elsewhere and on other occasions. The name of Sir William Hope, Bart. will be noted. His wife made her escape to the Dutch Factory, and I have no doubt that she was the Lady Hope who married the Mr. Lambert whose Octagon at Baraset was mentioned by Dr. Busteed (*Bengal : Past and Present*, Vol. I., pp. 202-203). At Hajipur not far from Patna there is, or not so many years ago there was, a large monument of the familiar pyramidical shape. Native tradition reported that it was erected over the grave of a lame *sahib*. The *sahib* was most probably Captain Peter Cartairs. He died and was buried at Hajipur on June 3, 1763. It will be remembered that he had distinguished himself by his gallantry at the siege of Calcutta in 1756 and that he was one of the survivors of the Black Hole. Surely this tomb should be sought out and remembered.

I HAVE received with great pleasure the following comments on my "pages" from Dr. Busteed. It will be seen that I have anticipated Dr. Busteed's wishes in regard to the republication of Dalrymple's* *Account of the Loss of the Grosvenor*. The quotation, criticised by the Doctor, was from Miss Bletchynden's *Calcutta: Past and Present*. In regard to the spelling of the name Mackrabie, I give below the signatures of a document kindly supplied to me by Lieutenant-Colonel W. J. Buchanan.

* There is an interesting account of Alexander Dalrymple in Mr. Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*. He "died of vexation" on June 19, 1808, about a month after being dismissed, on the score of old age, from his post of Hydrographer to the Admiralty.

Oath of Allegiance

*I, A B do sincerely promise and swear that I will be
faithful and bear true Allegiance to His Majesty
to help me God*

Warren Hastings

J. Clavering

Geo. Monson

Richd. Pawell

Chances:

Alexr. Haubrecht Sheriff

J. Montague Sheriff

W. Johnson, Coroner

W. Woodsworth

Jan'y the 3^d 1777

Edm. Whaler

Jos. Richardson

1st Jan^y 1778

Mr. Tomlinson Dec 15 79

John W. Johnson

1st October 1781

William H. Church

Wm. H. Church

John H. Church

Wm. H. Church

R. Sloper

Corwallis

Shore

Shore

Note. This Oath was taken according to a Resolution of Warren Hastings.

"*Editor's Note Book*, Vol. II., No. 2, page 220 : Yes, there is a slip in the *Echoes* as to the relationship of Alexander Elliot to the Sir Gilbert of the Impeachment Proceedings. It was right in the first Edition ('brother') but became 'son' in the second, and though immediately detected and marked for correction, it was allowed to escape and slip into the third edition. Such an accident too often happens when an author is compelled, or is unwise enough to be the sole reviser of his own proofs.

"What misled the author in the case was this passage in Tysoe Hancock's letters which may as well be quoted here as it puts beyond doubt, if

doubt there be, the date of young Elliot leaving Calcutta for England, *viz.*, to Mrs. Hancock 'August 5, 1775' (N.B. the date of the execution of Nuncomar). 'Mr. Elliot, who is Sir Gilbert's son, will deliver this to you. Your judgment will readily point out to you that he is a very fine young gentleman. As he can give you a perfect account of the dispute in Bengal, I will not write on so disgraceable a subject. Pray treat this gentleman with the greatest civility. He is the friend of our great friend.' The fact was lost sight of that Alexander Elliot's father was then alive. *Mea culpa.*"

"PAGE 241. The wreck of the *Grosvenor* 1782. Nothing can be more pathetic than the incident referred to, and the thoughts suggested by it in the extract quoted, page 242, *i.e.*, the passage touching the 'decendants of the English ladies who are supposed to have survived the hardships endured after landing. There is no tangible authority quoted for the 'strange rumours of Englishwomen being seen in kaffir kraals' or for what 'partly raised the veil of doubt and mystery during the Kaffir War of 1835.'

"The occurrence of such rumours and what they signify should be very jealously probed. They were not quite unknown during and after the Mutiny, and were never, so far as I believe, found to have any trustworthy foundation.

"Amongst your reprints the 'wreck of the *Grosvenor*' might perhaps be usefully included. The news of it brought great sorrow to Old Calcutta. I suppose one or more of the accounts of it may be found in the Imperial Library. In case of this not being so, I give a few brief notes which I happen to have by me which bear on the extract referred to above. I chanced to look into the matter in a cursory way some years ago, owing to the names of two of the passengers, *viz.*, that of the little son of Sir Robt. Chambers, and that of Mr. C. Newman,* the barrister who pleaded for the plaintiff in the case of *Grand vs. Francis* (1779). The best account of the wreck (which occurred on August 4, 1782) is that compiled by Alexander Dalrymple, who very carefully took and sifted the evidence of four of the survivors who eventually reached London (three men and a Cabin boy, R. Price, aged 13). Mr. Dalrymple took up the investigation at the request of Sir H. Fletcher. Chairman of the E. I. Company, to whom he reported on August 14, 1783. A second revised edition of his report was published in 1785.

* [Towards the end of 1781, Mr. C. Newman, in accordance with instructions from the Court of Directors, was sent to Madras to collect information in regard to charges brought against Sir Thomas Rumbold. His income at Madras was fixed at Rs. 2,500 a month and that of his assistant, Mr. Yorke, at Rs. 300 a month—ED., B. F. AND P.]

"The *Gentleman's Magazine* gives a condensed account of the wreck and the subsequent events in September 1783. An account by Carter was published in 1791, but this I do not seem to have noted, so I cannot say whether it gives any authentic information later than that of Dalrymple's.

"The *Gentleman's Magazine* article has this significant remark : 'The natives never offered to carry away any of the ladies nor offered them any of those injuries so industriously circulated.' There is not much 'evidence' in these words, but they suggest the sort of things that were said—thus early : Very soon after the survivors who got ashore (more than 100) began their terrible land journey, they straggled and separated for various reasons, one of which was that small parties could easily get food, chiefly shell fish than larger bodies. The passengers remained with the party led by Captain Coxon. The survivors who gave their evidence in England did not see the Captain's party after they separated in ten days after his wreck. The passengers then with the Captain were : Colonel and Mrs. Jones, Mr. and Mrs. Hosea, Mrs. Logie (wife of the mate), Mr. Newman, Captain W. Adair, and the following, bracketed as children, Miss Dennis, Miss Wilmot, Miss Hosea, Master Saunders, Master Chambers—black female servants Betty, Sally, and Mary. The evidence so far as it goes suggests that the natives treated the poor people thus at their mercy (for they were unarmed) with cruelty—but by no means uniformly so : they even treated the individuals that fell singly amongst them rather with kindness than brutality : plunder was their main object, especially anything in the way of metal, or of buttons, etc. They took rings, ear-rings and 'everything they found hard' from the ladies, threatening to kill them if they resisted. So testified a Dane named Hubberly, who went to Copenhagen from the Cape and was examined when he appeared in London at a later date. Up to the time that the witnesses in England saw the ladies and passengers they had undergone great hardships, they had crossed one river in those 10 days wading breast high, supported by sailors who were carrying the children. Add to this, starvation, exhaustion, and terror and we may well be sceptical as to any of them surviving. It is not known on what information Sir R. Chambers acted when he inscribed on the Calcutta tombstone to the memory of his boy 'who was shipwrecked in the *Grosvenor*, and perished on the coast of Africa in August 1782.' If he assumed that the child must have perished, and soon after landing, it was an inference all too reasonable. Survivors told of the strongest sailors and other men succumbing to their terrible privations and sufferings in large numbers. This does not give much reason to suppose that any of the tender European ladies and children held out, their lives must soon have been released from torment. There were only 3 European ladies, and 3 European female children where the Captain's party was last seen—six in

all. Even supposing that half of these reached and received the shelter of Kaffir kraals, could any computation arrive at the 600 'Native Warriors' with European blood in them who offered their services to the English fifty-three years afterwards." The story is not that this tribe of "brothers" were sprung from European men from the *Grosvenor*, mating with African women, which might at least be possible, even probable, but the allegation is that they were the descendants of the English *ladies*, who had been wrecked. This suggests things so unutterably sad that the mind is reluctant to yield credence to a story which fortunately will not bear rigid investigation, so far at least as I have had any opportunity of weighing the facts that came under my notice."

"PAGE 255-6. As in some degree confirmatory of the letter from Mr. J. C. Lyell quoted in "the Member's Note Book" I may mention that I, too, was in Calcutta when the tombstone where Joseph Townsend was buried was unearthed. As soon as the fact was announced in the *Englishman*, or possibly a day or two before, I went down to St. John's graveyard and saw the stone just as it lay where it had been uncovered, *i.e.*, before it had been set up against Job Charnock's Mausoleum. This was early in July 1869. When the announcement and the verses referring to the old pilot appeared in the *Englishman*, I went up to see Dr. Chevers at the Medical College the same day, to have a talk with him about them. I remarked: "I daresay some people will think on seeing the epitaph and verses so close together in the paper that the latter are on the tombstone too." He smiled saying "Of course, they are merely a gloss (I distinctly remember the word 'gloss') on the times in which the old fellow lived and on the moving accidents by flood and field which he and his companions may have encountered—and on the stories more or less traditional which have come down to us," etc., etc. This is a paraphrase of what he said. He had a very charming courteous manner and was ever ready to impart information. I did not think it fair to ask him then and there if *he* had contributed those verses to the *Englishman*; but as I drove away I thought to myself if Chevers has not written those lines himself—he knows who has."

"PAGE 261-2. There can be little doubt I fancy that the octagonal building referred to in K. N. D.'s article on Baraset (quoted by you) is the Octagon Summer house of Mackrabie's diary. It is probably the only structure existing now as it was when the card players visited it on that morning in February 1776. There Barwell and Francis Lemaistre and Mackrabie, names to be ever associated with the Consulship of Warren Hastings, may have met in friendly intercourse. Could the Historical Society urge a plea

for its preservation? Does it not cover the ashes of some worthy man (Mr. Lambert)* who may have done the State some forgotten service in his day?"

"BY-THE-BYE, touching the spelling of Mackrable's name again, I suspect that any confusion about this arose from the reckless transcribing of it by the writers of Francis' Memoirs, *i.e.*, Parkes and Merivale. In recently looking over volume I of this work, I noticed the signature of several letters from Mackrable. There are 18 of them in the appendix, 12 of these are signed Mackraby and 6 Mackorable. No writer could himself so vary his own signature. A letter to him from Tilghman in January 1773, spells it Mackrable. In fact this was always the correct family spelling. Francis may possibly have omitted the k sometimes, but he was not very orthodox in his spelling of proper names."

H. E. BUSTEED.

I OWE an apology to Messrs. Bourne and Shepherd for having attributed to another Firm the photographs facing page 203 and 208 of the present volume, and also to Messrs. Johnston and Hoffman for a similar error in regard to those facing page 202.

WALTER K. FIRMINER.

POSTSCRIPT.

I find at the last moment that I have omitted to quote a touching letter of George Bogle's in regard to the loss of his friend Elliot. It was read by Sir Elijah Impey at the bar of the House of Commons (Feb. 4, 1788).

MY DEAR SIR ELIJAH IMPEY,

I am favoured with your letter. The loss of Mr. Stewart at the very moment too when I expected to meet him, affected me very much; but the affliction which has now fallen on me in the death of Elliot is more than I can bear. The inclosed will give you the particulars. Pity me, Sir Elijah; his death leaves me hardly an object in life worth attending to. I enjoyed no pleasure equal to his company: I pursued no scheme, either of business or amusement, in which my mind did not associate him; I loved him with an affection above all the world; and he deserved of all men to be beloved: he possessed every talent and every virtue that the warmest imagination could draw; and I have often tried to discover one fault or defect in his character in vain.

I am, etc.,

G. BOGLE.

Sept. 30, 1778.

* "Lady Hyde," page 26, is evidently a misprint for Lady Hyde, see Vol. I, No. 2, page 203.

The Secretary's Pages.



THE Title-page, List of Errata, and an Index of names and places for Vol. I, *Bengal: Past and Present*, is now ready, and one copy has been issued, free of charge, to every member who joined the Society in 1907 and is still a member. Extra copies are for sale to the public at Re. 1 each. I would draw the reader's attention to the Society's advertisement with reference to the series of Historical Postcards. Copies of No. 1 Vol. I, of *Bengal: Past and Present*, will very shortly be withdrawn from sale.

AT the request of the Government of Bengal, the Society has suggested that the following inscriptions be placed on the tombs of the Hon. George Monson and the Lady Anne Monson :—

In Memory of

THE HON. GEORGE MONSON

Born April 18th, 1730.

Educated at Westminster.

Entered H. M. Foot—guards 1750,

Member of Parliament for Lincoln 1754-1768.

In the year 1760,

He, for a time, conducted the operations
at the

Siege of Pondichery,

in which he was severely wounded.

He served under General Draper at Manilla in 1762.

A.-D.-C. to the King 1769.

He (with Sir Philip Francis and General Clavering)
assumed office

as

A Member of the Supreme Council in India

October 20th, 1774.

Died at Hugli, September 25th, 1776.

This Grave and that of his Wife, the Lady Anne Monson, having remained nameless for one hundred and twenty-two years, this Tablet has been placed here by the Government of Bengal, at the request of the Calcutta Historical Society, in the year 1908.

In Memory of
 THE LADY ANNE MONSON,
 eldest daughter of
 the first Earl of Darlington
 By his marriage with
 The Lady Grace Fitzroy
 (daughter of the first Earl of Cleveland).
 She married first
 the Hon. Charles Hope-Weir,
 and secondly
 Colonel the Hon. George Monson.
 She died in Calcutta on the night of February 17th, 1776.
 Aged about 50 years.

To Miss Sinaes, of Serampore, the Society is indebted for the gift of an interesting brooch with a miniature portrait of Charles Weston. On his monument in the South Park Street Burial Ground it is recorded

"He manifested a grateful mind
 by cherishing in his old age his former
 employer and benefactor
 the late Governor Holwell."

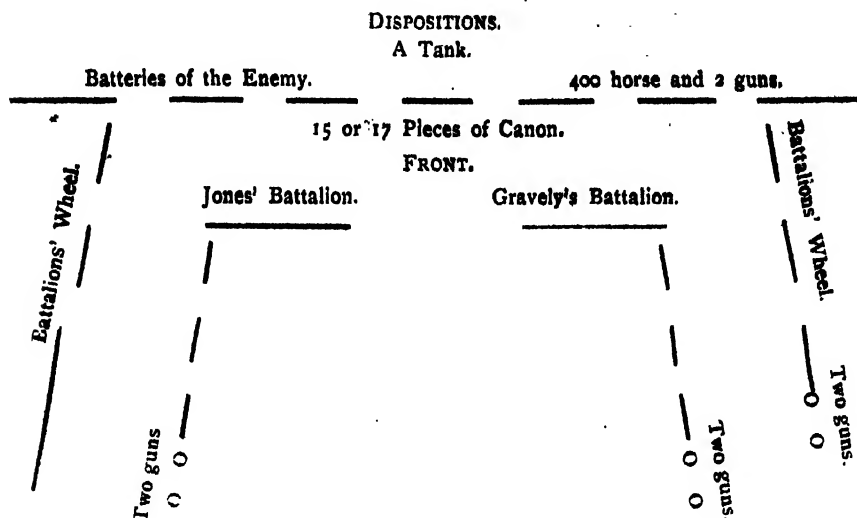
The *Bengal Obituary* affords the following brief note: "The son of the recorder of the Mayor's Court was born in Calcutta in 1731, in a house then opposite to where the Turret Bazar now stands. He witnessed the great storm and inundation of 1737, as it compelled his family to quit their house. The steeple of the church he states to have fallen prostrate. The houses of the Europeans in Calcutta at that time were surrounded with spacious gardens in which they stood central. This gentleman was the friend and associate of Mr. Holwell and carried arms as a militiaman at the old Fort in 1756. He was the founder of his own opulence; surely fortune never bestowed wealth better than on Charles Weston, a striking and exciting example, that chaste and refined sentiments are not confined to complexion or to climate. This truly honorable man resided at Chinsurah, *amid a necessitous people soothed and supported by his bounty*. Those who had seen better days

and on whom fortune had ceased to smile, were comforted by Charles Weston. One hundred gold mohurs and upwards a month were regularly distributed to the indigent from a box placed on his table, nor was there any sircar to deduct or intervene; all came from his own venerable hand. He left a sum of about a lac of rupees the interest of which is still distributed monthly by the Vestry of St. John's to a large number of the poor of Calcutta and Chinsurah." A portrait of Weston hangs in the Vestry room of St. John's, where also may be seen another miniature portrait of him, presented to the Church by Miss Sinaes. Mr. H. E. A. Cotton records of Weston: "He escaped the Black Hole by having been sent on the river to look after Holwell's baggage boats on the day before the Fort was taken. He does not appear to have gone down to Fulta, but to have taken refuge with the Dutch at Chinsurah. When Holwell left India in 1760 he gave Weston 2,000 rupees, and lent him another 5,000. With this capital he made a large fortune chiefly by agency business; and was lucky enough to win the Tiretta Bazar in the lottery of 1791." Weston served on the jury in the Nanda Kumar case.

OUR Patron, Dr. Busteed, is most generously presenting to the Society Chabot's monumental work on the handwriting of Francis and Junius, the best edition of Junius (3 Vols.), the Travels of Tahb Khan (1799, 2 Vols.) and a pamphlet of Waghorn's relative to the Overland Route. In regard to the last, Dr. Busteed writes to the Editor:—"It may be read reasonably with the correspondence between Lord Clare and Bishop Wilson in the last April number. Waghorn, the pioneer of the Overland route, was most scurvily treated by his own country, and his last surviving sister was allowed to die in a workhouse in 1883, and then, of course, we shed hypocritical tears." Dr. Busteed has also presented to the Society's archives the following documents, *viz.*:—

1. Commission to Gilbert William Watson, Esquire, of the 21st Regiment Native Infantry, appointing him Captain in the Company's Bengal Service by Brevet. Signed by the Marquess of Hastings, J. Adam and John Fendall. Countersigned by Lieut.-Col. Wm. Casement, Military Secretary. Dated March 27, 1821.
2. Commission to the same appointing him Captain in "the King's Army in the East Indies only." Signed by Hastings as Commander-in-Chief. March 27, 1821.
3. Lieut. Tho. Naylor to Lieut. W. Watson. June 28, 1776.

DEAR WATSON,—I was a few days ago desirous of giving you the earliest account of the Engagement between Parker's Detachment at Khorah and Nowab Ally Khawn, which I find since not to be so exact as I related it to you. Enclosed you have a correct return agreeable to the accounts that we have——with the Disposition of Both.



The above, my Friend, is a slight sketch of the Dispositions of both according to the most perfect accounts. It is evident the Enemy was found posted in the first Position but how P. advanced up to them, whether in Column or by Divisions, Sub or Grand, I know not. But when he observed (as he advanced as fast as possible up to them) that their numbers far exceeded his, and when manœuvring to the right and left with an intention to flank them, he ordered part of the right flanks to fall back and front them, and as they had forgot to post any of their guns upon their right (to be uniform with the left), Jones' Battalion took the advantage which offered, marched briskly on, while the Center at the same time with equal spirit and ardour advanced, and the whole of them acting as one principle with a violent discharge and impetuosity rushed in upon them and Routed them entirely. The two Guns upon the Enemies left did a deal of mischief, from which Gravelly must have got his leg broke. The centre of the line from the situation of the enemies cannon must have suffered more than any other part; and there Lieut. Erskine was killed. Only figure to yourself the Havock that a Battery of 15 or 17 Guns must make, and what Noble fellows they must be to have advanced in the midst of such a discharge. *Where's the Chief?* Ask him how he would have liked to have been in one of their situations with his legion to have shared in such a Glorious day. "Pulling up his——and a little touch at his stock; I think I hear him say, their behaviour was noble and by——the man that would not wish to head a Battalion of Tygers agst a——should be——to death with——" The 15 or 16 Battalions behaved nobly and I'll be cursed if any Regiment in India could have supported the Honor of our Nation or have gained greater Reputation to themselves than they have done. The 400 horse (I believe they are Marattoes) wheeled off as soon as the action began, and carried away three of our Elephants.

[Conclusion notices death of a Mr. Angus and records "Parker, I understand, does not intend joining the Brigade—the Detachment will, I suppose, be marched to Belgaum by the next officer."

I am, dear Watson,
Yours sincerely,
THO. NAYLOR.

BELGRAM, 25th June 1776.

*Language not to be repeated in the twentieth century.

4. John Guthrie to Lieut. Watson.

DEAR WATSON,—I wrote to you yesterday the 21st instant, though I believe I dated it the 22nd. However, it does not signify. I now write a more particular account of Parker's Engagement. "Col. Parker marched from Corah the 18th instant in the Evening towards our Camp; *the Nabob's Troops being between them and us*; towards the Nabob's (or *Rajah's, which you please*) Troops, and he arrived at the place where they were encamped at 5 in the morning. They were then drawn up in regular order. The Col. sent to demand their guns, and told them it was the Nabob Asop Dowlah's order for him to get them either by fair means or force; they asked Him where was his order and, for them, He told them that was pointing to his two Battallions (:): they said they would defend themselves. The Col. ordered Gravely's Battalion guns to fire on them (it being on the right and more advanced), and the action began and lasted three quarters of an hour, and was very severe on both sides, when the enemy gave way and left their guns, Tumbils, Carts, Tent Equipage, etc., etc., to the Conquerors. There is took seventeen guns, with the Tumbils, etc., etc., all well mounted after the Europe fashion and very handsome. They had 500 killed exclusive of the wounded which is *unknown*; a vast number of Bullocks for Artillery, Tabors, etc., etc., are took. Their force was 5,000 foot (such as the *Naziff pulton*), 1,000 horse and about 600 Rocket Men. *Bravo. Our whole force was 1,300 Sepoys and eight guns.* STILL MORE BRAVO. There is killed of Capt. Gravely's Battalion 1 European piper, 1 Subadar, 1 Jamidar and 9 R and file. *Wounded* 1 Sergeant, 1 Subadar, 3 Jamidars, 1 Beasty and 45 R and file. Killed of Captain Jones' Battalion, Lieutenant J. Erskin, 1 Jamidar, 2 Havildars, 1 Naig, and 7 Sepoys. *Wounded* : 1 Drummer, 2 Jamindars, 3 Havildars, 1 Sarcar and 66 Sepoys. Note, during the action some straggling Dogs of Maratoes carried off three of our Elephants. Poor Gravely had his leg Cut off the same Evening, having been shattered with a Cannon Ball. Erskin was shot dead, the first fire being on the Center near Parker; Gravely was on the right, Jones on the left, the Enemy had all their Guns in the Center except two on their left flank; the fire on the center was so hot that they were giving way if it had not been they were instantly supported from the flanks, etc., etc. No more.

I am, dear Watson,
Yours very truly,

JNO. GUTHRIE.

June 22, 1776.

5. To Lieutenant W. Watson from Lieutenant Val. Watherston from Firockabad, September 1776. Relative to business and private affairs.
6. Thomson Alcock to Major Watson, January 12, 1785. From Agra describing the miserable condition of the place [a most extraordinarily stilted epistle].
7. William Scott, Acting Adjutant-General, to Major W. Watson, Commanding the 4th Battalion of Sepoys at Dacca. April 14, 1786. Relative to the relations of a Collector of a District to the Officer in the Superior Command of the Troops in that District written by direction of the Commander-in-Chief.
8. William Sandys at Fort William to Major Watson at (Dacca). October 25, 1786.

MY DEAR MAJOR,—I wrote you the day after my arrival, since when I have received your friendly letter of the 16th instant.

I cannot differ from you in your decision for I think it perfectly just and esteem myself much obliged to you for your condescension in asking my opinion. I stood the first for Command when I left Dacca, Young is next, but if he relieves T. Smith I hope you will not permit the tour to be altered and pass me. If Smith was ill and you judged it necessary to relieve him, it would be a different case—then I must of necessity loose my tour. But I think I ought not to loose it through the pleasure of other Gentlemen. In the fair line of service if casualties happen whilst I am absent from my Corps I must suffer.

I have every reason to be pleased with my reception, but have powerful reasons to regret my being detained at Dacca so long. His Lordship (Cornwallis) conducts his business with regularity and dignity: at table he is most affable. As yet, he has formed no intimacy or connection, information is what he seeks, but he determines for himself. He endeavours to make himself acquainted with the characters of men and although polite to all, he makes a distinction. Colonel Ross is a sensible shrewd man but I think I perceive many endeavouring to attempt his Lordship through him—the class I need not mention, but I fear they will in the end succeed; but then, instead of being the proud dictators, they will only be the humble instruments—this we may rely on. Lord Cornwallis and Colonel Ross are good Judges of mankind and as such they will not be easily duped. The day after my introduction I received a card of invitation and dined with his Lordship the next day. I sat next to Colonel Ross and had a long conversation with him. The bottle circulated freely, his Lordship drank his glass, and we all got up in much better spirits than we sat down. I am surprised at Ross's knowledge of the country. After some little time our conversation turn'd on the French and of the orders which have been issued. He held a very different language from the former administration and condemn'd their measures with respect to that Nation. He ask'd me the character of Dayot (?), which I gave as a sensible man and one of the best of his country, I have seen. He then without any preliminary questions ask'd me if there were not many free merchants at Dacca. It was an improper question for him to ask. I recollected myself and answered in general terms—there were some, but that their trade in comparison with that carried on by the Black people and Armenians was very inconsiderable—he said no more. I need not point out to you that this letter is not written for the public eye. You may if you please communicate it to Mr. Day and I request you will remember me most kindly to him. I have seen no house as yet that will suit him. When I mentioned that H-L—had formed no intimacy, I except Mr. Shore. John Mackenzie applied to his Lordship for permission to marry, and I believe was so to Miss Dawson last night—Report says through the influence of her uncle, and I believe it.

Your ring is in the Jewellers hands. When anything particular occurs, you shall hear from me, in the mean time believe me,

My dear Major,
Very sincerely yours,
WM. SANDYS.

In presenting these papers to the Society, Dr. Busteed with characteristic modesty writes to our Editor:—"These old letters from India were offered for sale by a gentleman living in Wales, I became the purchaser of them for a trifling sum. They are rather disappointing I fear, but such as they are (even as curiosities), I beg to present them to the Calcutta Historical Society through you." The reader of the two accounts here given of an altogether

forgotten battle—a tale of the greatest gallantry—will not regard these papers as disappointing, but it was quite in keeping with all we have heard of Dr. Busteed's personality that he should ask us to accept copper when giving us gold. The story of the victory of Colonel Parker's Detachment on June 18, 1776, had almost altogether dropped out of history. Major-General Stubbs in his *History of the Bengal Army*, for instance, jumps from 1775 to 1777 with the remark "No military operation of any moment, however, took place in this and the two following years" (p. 501 Cambray's Edition). Mr. George W. Forrest's *Selections from the Letters, Despatches and other State Papers preserved in the Foreign Department of the Government of India, 1772-1785*, are of untold worth for the student of Anglo-Indian History, but Mr. Forrest's three volumes are after all but a *pis aller* set forth by a much overworked official. In them we may find a few references to Colonel Nevill Parker, but no reference whatsoever to his victory of June 18 1776.

CAPTAIN F. G. CARDEW (*Sketch of the Services of the Bengal Native Army*, p. 39) writes:—"On the 10th June, 1776, was fought the brilliant action of Korah. In the preceding month Lieutenant-Colonel Parker had been detached from Belgram, in Oudh territory, with part of the 2nd Company of Artillery and the 15th and 16th Battalions of Native Infantry, to watch the motions of one Mabub Khan, a disaffected officer in the service of the Nawab Wazir, who was posted at Korah, about twenty-five miles below Cawnpore, with a force of seven battalions and nineteen guns. It being an object to gain possession of these guns, Colonel Parker marched on Korah and demanded their surrender. Mabub Khan himself was not present, but the demand was resisted by the next in command, upon which Colonel Parker moved forward to enforce it: a sharp conflict ensued, resulting in the complete defeat of Mabub Khan's troops, and the capture of the whole of his guns. The loss sustained by Colonel Parker's detachment is not recorded, but it appears to have been considerable: Captain Gravely, commanding the 15th Battalion, was dangerously wounded and subsequently died of his wounds; Lieutenant Erskine of the 16th was killed. In 1829, the two corps engaged (which had then become the late 1st and 10th regiments of Bengal Native Infantry) received the permission to inscribe 'KORAH' on their colours."

MR. S. R. ELSON has kindly presented to the Society a massive cannon ball dug up some years ago on the site of Old Fort William.

JAS. C. MITCHELL,
Honorary Secretary.

NEW MEMBERS.

NAMES.	ADDRESSES.	DATE OF MEMBER- SHIP 1907-'08.
Addyman, J. E.	99, Clive Street	7th May.
Beazley, R. H.	Chartered Bank	9th "
Cadell, I.C.S., P.R.	Bengal Club	27th "
Cassie, G. J.	36, Chowringhee	9th "
Cunningham, W. W.	101½ Clive Street	8th "
Hutton, Rev. W. H.	St. John's College, Oxford	August '07.
Keay, Lyle	Mercantile Bank	27th May '08.
LeMesurier, H. P.	B.-N. Ry., Dalhousie Square	6th June.
McNair, G. B.	c/o Morgan & Co., 1, Hastings Street	27th "
Mead, C. H.	Mercantile Bank	31st "
Olver, G. T. W.	11, Middletem Row	9th "
Tin Kori Lahiri	Serampore	9th "



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